

ROBERT SOUTHWELL

THE WRITER

A STUDY IN RELIGIOUS INSPIRATION

THÈSE COMPLÉMENTAIRE

POUR LE DOCTORAT ÈS-LETTRES

présentée à la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Paris

PAR M. PIERRE JANELLE

Chargé de cours à la Faculté des Lettres
de l'Université de Clermont

CLERMONT-FERRAND
IMPRIMERIES PAUL VALLIER
15-17, RUE MARÉCHAL-FOCH
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PREFACE

In order to enable the reader to frame his own judgment by himself, every effort has been made in the following pages to supply him with first-hand evidence in its original shape. Each document is reproduced exactly as it stands in the source from which it is borrowed, whether printed or manuscript. Hence variations in the spelling, which is now original, now modernized. It would have been altogether impossible to understand or even to read some of the quotations, if the punctuation had not been amended. That this has been done, is in every case stated.

As a rule, quotations in Latin or in foreign languages are Englished in the text, the original being reproduced in the footnotes. Occasionally, the translation or adaptation is Southwell's own. A few passages are directly quoted in Latin or in foreign languages where this is necessary for purposes of comparison.

It is not possible to mention the names of all those whose assistance or advice has made it possible for me to complete the present work. But I must express my especial gratitude to those who have been directly helpful in providing material and opening up sources of information : the late professor John Swinnerton Phillimore, of Glasgow University ; the fathers of Stonyhurst College, and especially Fr W. Weld, late rector ; Frs C. A. Newdigate and Leo Hicks, S. J., of Farm Street House, London; Bro. Vincent Hayles, librarian of the London Oratory; Archdeacon Claude Jenkins, librarian of Lambeth Palace; Mr A. Ellis, superintendent of the British Museum reading-room ; Dr Wickersheimer, Administrator of the National and University library, Strasbourg; Fr Bourg, S.J., of the Clermont-Ferrand House; and many others, whose kindness will not be forgotten.

Clermont-Ferrand, November 5th, 1934.

PIERRE JANELLE.

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CHAPTER I

EARLY YEARS ABROAD - SOUTHWELL THE JESUIT

THE Jesuit father Robert Southwell, poet and prose-writer, (1561-1595), was the foremost representative of Catholic letters under Queen Elizabeth. His early years were spent abroad, mostly at Rome: there he imbibed the literary as well as the devotional spirit of the Counter-Reformation, which was then swiftly conquering most of continental Europe; he became conversant with the Christianized classicism of the late Renaissance. He afterwards tried in England the methods of literary propaganda which had so well succeeded elsewhere, and for which his poetical gifts particularly fitted him. The effect of his writings was far more considerable than is generally suspected, and largely due to his personal attractiveness, and to the heroism with which he bore the tortures and death inflicted upon him on account of his priesthood; and all through the half century which followed his execution, his works were widely read both at home and in the English Catholic colonies abroad.

Modern critics do not generally place him in the front rank of English writers. No reader of his poems, it is true, fails to notice the musical charm and the graceful tenderness of some of his devotional lyrics: and their literary value is not denied. Nevertheless, his real importance is not usually realized. He is dealt with as if he occupied a normal and ordinary position among other Elizabethan authors, and judged by the same standards; whereas he was placed in other surroundings and circumstances, and represented an altogether different and indeed hostile ideal, which was attempting to gain a footing in England. His compositions — his verse only in fact, for his prose is undeservedly forgotten — are thus studied apart from their setting. This hinders a true appreciation, not merely of their beauty, but also of their influence. That the usual historical foundation of literary history should in the present case be neglected, lends itself to ready explanation. Of the social and artistic life of the Elizabethan age, only that part is usually known to us that displayed itself in broad daylight, and was publicly recorded; the business, ceremonies and rejoicings of the court are a kind of screen which takes up the whole front of the stage, and keeps from our sight whatever was happening

behind the scenes. The machinery of government was so centralized and efficient, that it was possible for it altogether to suppress the expression of any opinion or feeling contrary to the official doctrines on Church and State. Catholicism, being obnoxious to the Queen and her servants, enjoyed but a muffled existence. Such poems as those of Southwell, however, owing to their exceptional value, managed to break through the wall of silence, and to be handed down to posterity; but the circumstances in which they were indited did not appear in the public records of the age, and have remained unknown even to modern historians. Yet another reason has prevented, in the past one hundred and fifty years, a considered judgment of the Jesuit's productions. Nineteenth century "insularism" failed to realize that in the reign of the "Virgin Queen," England had but lately detached herself from the united Christian Europe of the Middle-Ages; that she was not so self-contained as she was later to become, and still remained largely open to religious influences from abroad, especially to that of the Counter-Reformation. This was simply ignored by such critics as Taine, for whom the forces at strife were only Renaissance paganism and Puritan Protestantism. Such a biassed view of things made it simply impossible to account for the literary movement of which Southwell was the chief representative.

Even in the eyes of present-day Catholics, social and literary life in the days of queen Elizabeth still often resides in the contrast between a brilliant, variegated, sensuous and boisterous court, and stern, sermonizing Puritanism. The missionary priests who died for their faith are viewed as heroic, but isolated figures; as bravely, sportingly, asserting their beliefs and allegiance in the face of terrifying odds, not as representing a huge spiritual, cultural and educational movement which they succeeded in firmly establishing on English soil. This failure to understand what the Catholic apostolate really stood for accounts for the striking inadequacy of such biographies of Robert Southwell, and studies of his works, as have appeared of recent years. The Catholic historians of the seventeenth century, who were still within hail of the Jesuit's times and activities, recorded his life truly, and supplied a faithful, though hardly searching, interpretation of his verse and prose. But their nineteenth century successors lacked the proper historical perspective. Kind-hearted Grosart, for one, did his best to understand and to love Southwell; he divined the beauty of his soul; but he judged his lyrics in and by themselves, irrespective of the circumstances of their production; he admired them at random, and often mistakenly. Foley's biography, in the *Records of the English province of the Society of Jesus*, is ample, and goes into the sources of the poet's piety; unfortunately it is unsystematic and often untrustworthy, and takes little heed of the literary side of the poet's missionary efforts. Both of the above have been closely followed in the more recent accounts of Southwell's

life and works, which add little to our knowledge. Trotman's edition of the *Triumphs over death* was published in 1914; but the notes added to it are partly inaccurate and sometimes absurd. In the *Book of Robert Southwell*, the date of which is 1926, Christobel M. Hood introduces some new matter, but she also falls into the fundamental error of dealing with the Jesuit's lyrics as if written out of time and space. The *Cambridge history of English literature* obediently endorses all of Grosart's mistakes, and again judges the poet from the same detached standpoint. The only studies in which Southwell's literary campaign is viewed in its true light are Fr Herbert Thurston's extremely intelligent articles in the *Month*; these articles have been the starting-point of the present work. But they are rather in the nature of preparatory sketches, and are frequently misinformed as to matters of fact.

It may seem rash and unfair thus to dismiss most of the recent works on Southwell; that they are unsafe is however a fact, and recourse must be had, beyond them, to original sources. This in no way signifies that Grosart's pioneer work should be undervalued, so far as it goes; he supplied us with what is, on the whole, a very satisfactory and trustworthy text, and with the beginnings of a bibliography. The results he obtained are of considerable value, and he cannot be blamed for not having done more than was humanly possible. Yet he left a huge gap to be filled up. If the question be now asked, was the filling of such a gap worth while? Did the literary importance of Southwell justify laborious and lengthy research? an affirmative answer may be unhesitatingly returned. For one thing, if the literary efforts of Southwell and other missionaries had not been cut off by the hangman's hands, continental classicism might have established a footing in England as early as in France. "Hebraism" might not have won such an easy victory over "Hellenism," though Hellenism were only represented here by its Latin adaptation. Nor were English letters alone affected by the gradual disappearance of Catholicism. The English character also underwent a change. It had been noticeable, in the early sixteenth century, for certain qualities which were connected with the "old religion" — a cheerful and loving patience, a gentle and restrained manliness. The moral ideal of the Society of Jesus tallied with these closely; and there was a good deal in common between Sir Thomas More and Robert Southwell. Now the persecution forced these features of the English temper into the background, and made room for others. It may appear idle to speculate on what might have been, and deal at length with lost causes. But these important traits of the nation's personality could not be suppressed for ever; they were bound to reappear sooner or later, and in fact have done so, in the case of cardinal Newman for instance. Thus Southwell's devotional moods enable us to account, not only for the past, but for the present as well.

It would be mere boastfulness to state that this work fulfils its whole purpose. The extent of new ground to be broken was so huge, that a lifetime would scarcely have sufficed to cover it all. It was not possible to engage upon more than a limited task, that of finding out the sources from which Southwell derived his literary ideal, and what measure of success he achieved in following it. Though the extant manuscripts of his works have been used where necessary, no attempt has been made to improve Grosart's text by comparing them together. The purely metrical study of Southwell's verse has had to be left aside. More general conclusions might have been arrived at, if he had been dealt with as the head of a school, and considered in relation both to contemporary Catholic writers, to non-Catholic followers, and lastly to the line of devotional poets which begins with Donne and ends up with Crashaw. Lack of space precluded such an extension of the present study, and a concluding chapter on *Imitation and plagiarism* has had to be dropped. We must confine ourselves, first to a fully-detailed biography, which casts light upon the peculiar combination of native and acquired elements in the building up of Southwell's personality; then to a review of his successive works, in which the literary reflection of this personality will be examined. As the picture nears completion, a fundamental harmony will gradually appear between his life and his compositions, between his moral and his artistic ideals : his classical neatness and purity of line being parallel to his self-enforced temperateness. That such unity was productive of beauty we hope to show. Meanwhile we must address ourselves to the first part of our task, and tell the poet's life-story.

* * * * *

There is no need to revert here to Robert Southwell's genealogy : the subject has been very fully treated of late years, and tables have been published, to which reference can easily be made.¹ One main fact must be kept in mind, as it has a direct bearing upon his position as the poet of court circles: he was of gentle descent, and belonged to a well-known county family of Norfolk, the members of which had attained to eminence in the late XVth and early XVIth centuries, both as court favourites and office-holders.² His own grandfather — though there was a bar sinister between them — Sir Richard Southwell, had been

¹ A.B. GROSART, *The complete poems of Robert Southwell*, 1872, Memorial-Introduction, pp. XXXV-XL, where the information is not tabulated. "Pedigree of Southwell" in FOLEY, *Records of the English province of the Society of Jesus*, vol. 1, worked out from GROSART and MS. information; reproduced in Christobel M. Hood, *the book of Robert Southwell*, 1926.

² On Southwell's ancestors cf. C.M. Hood, *op. cit.*, pp. 2-4, who also supplied us with the details on Sir Richard Southwell.

a typical Tudor courtier under Henry VIII, and one well fitted to serve such a master. A man of great and varied accomplishments, but few moral scruples, he had lent full support to the king's religious policy, assisted in the dissolution of the monasteries, and secured as his reward his fair share of the spoils.³ Later he was a receiver of the Court of Augmentations, in which the plunder was disposed of. Yet his acceptance of the king's supremacy over the Church implied no sympathy with Protestant tenets : like many of his contemporaries, he was willing enough to appropriate the goods of the clergy, but opposed to dogmatic innovations, and one may fancy that the stern discipline of continental Calvinism had for him no attractions whatever. His imprisonment under Edward VI may not have been due to his adherence to the old faith,⁴ but he certainly was in favour again under Mary. By this time he seems to have got clear of the mental confusion prevalent in the earlier part of the religious changes, and definitely sided with Catholicism. Yet the family's adherence to the Church of Rome was still to suffer many vacillations in the trying years of persecution under Elizabeth. In 1574, a list of Catholics prepared for Mary Queen of Scots, mentions among those on whose support she might probably rely Francis Southwell, the poet's uncle, and Richard, his elder brother.⁵ Some years later, in 1588, his father, Richard Southwell, of Horsham St Faith's, Norfolk, and Thomas, another brother of his, were reported to the government as papists and recusants.⁶ And yet the former was enjoying sufficient favour at court in 1592 to be able through his intercession to alleviate the sufferings of his son, then a prisoner in the Tower;⁷ while no Southwell at all appears on the Recusant rolls in 1592-1593.⁸ On the whole the male members of the family seem to have compromised between their inward beliefs and the interests of their worldly career. Here as in many other cases, the religious tradition was maintained by a woman; and it was no doubt Southwell's mother, Bridget, daughter of Sir Roger Copley, of Rowghey, Sussex, who took care that her son should be brought up in the faith of his ancestors.⁹

³ Cf. FOLEY, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 302, on the granting of the priory of St. Faith's to Sir Richard Southwell in 1545.

⁴ Mrs C. M. HOOD, *op. cit.*, p. 5, thinks its unlikely that any one should have Catholic sympathies, after being engaged in the dissolution of monasteries, and receiving a reformer (in the present case John Louth) as a guest in his house. Yet there are numberless instances of similar contradictions both among the clergy and laity; the issues as stake were not so nearly clear cut as they afterwards became.

⁵ *Catholic Record Society Publications*, vol. XIII, p. 94.

⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. XXII, p. 120. Recusants and priests, March 1588.

⁷ See below, Chapt. II.

⁸ *Catholic Record Society*, vol. XVIII, index.

⁹ This was Fr J. H. POLLEN's surmise in a MS. life of Southwell in his own hand, now in the archives of the Jesuit house, Farm street, London.

Thus was the future poet born into a Catholic family of gentle blood and court fame, in the latter part of the year 1561.¹⁰ Regarding his childhood, a single story has survived. He was kidnapped by a gipsy woman, then rescued; much later in his life, he made this adventure the subject of pious meditations on God's benignity and the gratitude due to him.¹¹ Of his youth in his Norfolk home, and of all that the family atmosphere would mean for him, no particulars have come down to us. It seems clear that he was not left unprepared for his later spiritual and intellectual development; and it is a pity that nothing should be known of his mother's early fostering of his devotion and piety. No doubt he had private lessons with some learned Catholic tutor; but we must skip many years before we come to the next known fact, which is of great moment. In the words of his earliest biographer, Diego de Yepes, he "was sent by his parents to study in the University of Douay in Flanders."¹² We know that he arrived in the Flemish town on June 10, 1576, in the company of another young Englishman of gentle blood, John Cotton, with whom he was afterwards to live in Paris.¹³ He was then midway through his fifteenth year, and the time had come at which, in other circumstances, he would have gone up to Oxford or Cambridge. But Catholicism had by then been driven out of the two Universities, and lest the boy's faith might suffer, some equivalent means of education had to be sought abroad. Douay University had lately been founded by Philip II of Spain, and was fast becoming an intellectual centre for Catholic Englishmen. Special provision was made for English students. In 1568, William Allen had founded a residential house for them, known as the English College or Seminary: there Catholic priests were to be trained for the English mission field.¹⁴

¹⁰ The date of Southwell's birth has to be obtained through deduction, working back from later events in his life. According to Tanner, *Societas Jesu militans*, p. 33, col. 2, he was no more than twenty-five when he departed for England with Fr. Henry GARNET. This was on May 8th, 1586. (cf. *Catholic Record Society*, vol. v, p. 306, n.) and his birth would then be placed no earlier than May 8th, 1561. This agrees with the statement of Fr. Nathaniel Southwell (*Catalogus primorum patrum*, Stonyhurst MS. A. iv. 3, p. 17) that he was about seventeen when admitted into the Society of Jesus on October 17th, 1578; he would then have been born about October 17th, 1561. The above deductions are again confirmed by Southwell's own declaration at his trial, on March 3rd, 1595, (Garnet to Aquaviva, March 7th, 1595, General archives S. J. Anglia 31, fol 118b) that he was then about the same age as Christ at his passion, "poi che già era entrato nell'anno 34." The point may therefore be considered as settled.

¹¹ HENRICUS MORUS, *Historia Provinciae Anglicanae* S. J., lib. v, N° xii, pp. 172-3, where the whole meditation is reprinted.

¹² Diego de YEPES, *Historia particular de la persecucion de Inglaterra*, Madrid 1599: "fue embiado de sus padres a estudiar en la Vniversidad de Duay en Flandes."

¹³ Thomas Francis KNOX, *The first and second diaries of the English College, Douay*, London 1878, p. 105: "1576, Junius. 10° die Mr Cottonus et Mr Southwellus, nobiles utrique adolescentes, per communem quandam Angliae nuncium ad nos adducti sunt."

¹⁴ Most of the particulars referring to Douay college have been borrowed from the above work.

To this College Southwell now became attached; but we hear that soon after his arrival he was "received into Anchin College,"¹⁵ the Jesuit college at Douay, founded in 1569. This probably means that while, at the former, he resided and received tutorial instruction, at the latter he attended the regular course of classes. Leonardus Lessius was one of the staff at Anchin, and we know for certain that he was his pupil.¹⁶ Both the life at the English college, where Jesuit devotional influence was paramount, and the teaching and religious practice at Anchin, conspired in turning his thoughts towards the Society of Jesus. This lends further importance to a period of his life which was comparatively short. In all likelihood, as we shall see, he left Douay for good and all in November 1576.¹⁷ However, those six months were to affect all the rest of his days, and we may stop here to describe the intellectual and spiritual atmosphere in which he was now placed.

* * * * *

In its relation to the University proper, and in its own character, the English College at Douay was reminiscent of similar institutions at home. Yet in many respects, it was a departure from the medieval and early humanistic traditions which had persisted and were to persist in England, undisturbed by the new influences at work on the Continent. Douay college was inspired by a new spirit, that of the Council of Trent. It embodied a scheme of education which in its main features had first been outlined in the *Constitutions* of the Society of Jesus. Thus the old homely spirit of the English Universities, and the leavening influence of the Counter-reformation, were intimately blended; a mingling of elements which were seldom to combine in such a way. This English Trentine Catholicism never was to mature or to enjoy its full chance; and in time Protestant propaganda, no less than the persistent policy of Elizabeth's ministers, were to succeed in making the old religion foreign, and even repulsive to the bulk of the people at home. Yet such development could not have been anticipated by the students at Douay. The training which they received fitted them for the attempt to plant the rejuvenated Catholicism of the late XVIth century into their native country, not as something unfamiliar and forced upon it from outside, but as part of the very web of English life. This will appear more clearly from a closer study of the twofold nature of the College.

An English house first, in the full sense of the word, peopled, and then constantly enriched, with English refugees fresh from their schol-

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 106 : "1576, Junius. Hoc mense a nobis in Aquicinctense collegium recepti sunt M^r Pudseus et M^r Southwellus, nobiles..."

¹⁶ See below, p. 13.

¹⁷ See below, p. 16.

arly activities at home. At the time of Southwell's arrival, we find among the staff and students of the college a number of men from New College, Oxford, and the closely associated college at Winchester, where bishop Stephen Gardiner, one generation before, had firmly maintained the Catholic spirit; also from other colleges at both Universities; men who bridged over the gulf between the older and the newer type of humanism. The founder and president, the future cardinal William Allen, was born in 1532. In 1547 he had gone up to Oriel College, Oxford, of which he later became a fellow. In 1556 he became the principal of St. Mary's Hall; in 1556-7 he was proctor of the University, where he resided until 1561. He had only left England for three years when he settled down at Douay.¹⁸ Among the members of the college who were present at the foundation we find, as coming from Oxford, Richard Bristow, fellow of Exeter College, who was to remain prefect of studies until his death in 1581; John Marshall, fellow of New College, and second master of Winchester, who it is true, left in the first year; Edward Ridsen, of Exeter College; in the second batch (1568 also) Thomas Darell, a student of New College; then in 1569, Thomas Stapleton, of New College; Thomas Dorman, a student of New College and fellow of All Souls; in 1570 John Hawlet, fellow of Exeter College; Gregory Martin and Edmond Campion, the famous Jesuit protomartyr, both fellows of St. John's; John Hart, a graduate of Oxford; Thomas Ford, fellow of Trinity. In 1574 twelve students came over from England, six of whom are known to have been from Oxford.¹⁹

Thus the Catholic community abroad had had no time to develop that something foreign to English life, or at least different and apart from it, which has since then been one main reason of England's estrangement from the Roman church. On the other hand we know that Dr. Allen consistently endeavoured to preserve the English character of the college, the members of which were to work in the English mission field. He ardently longed for the moment when the scholars he had gathered together might set to work on the English Catholic translation of the Bible, later to be known as the Rheims-Douay version (1582-1610). He had a clear perception of the hold which Protestant preachers and controversialists had gained upon the common people at home, owing to their mastery of the vernacular. By his direction, English sermons were preached by the students of Douay College on every Sunday and festival day. "We preach in English, Allen writes, in order to acquire greater power and grace in the use of the vulgar

¹⁸ Cf. Thomas Francis KNOX, *The first and second diaries of the English College, Douay*, p. xxii.

¹⁹ All the above particulars from KNOX, *op. cit.*, in the introduction, pp. xxix to xxxi and in the text of the diaries, *passim*.

tongue, a thing on which the heretics plume themselves exceedingly, and by which they do great injury to the simple folk. In this respect the heretics... have the advantage over many of the more learned Catholics, who having been educated in the universities and the schools do not commonly have at command the text of Scripture or quote it except in Latin."²⁰ The lesson was a clear one to English youths whose time was largely devoted to humanities,²¹ and who being placed in a foreign university, were apt to neglect what was purely English, and seek the common ground of interest which classical studies provided.

In regard to schoolwork proper, most of the time must have been devoted to the humanities, in which Southwell, to judge from his later success, must already have been a proficient pupil. The atmosphere and literary pursuits of the college must, however, have paled in his own memory by the side of its spiritual influence; for it had shown him the ways of the perfect life — in other words, turned his youthful thoughts towards the Society of Jesus. Late sixteenth century feuds, in which the college was a hotbed of anti-Jesuit agitation, tend to obscure the fact that its founders admired and cherished the Society, and followed its guidance in all religious matters. When the college was pressed hard for want of money, Allen besought the pope to grant some financial help; and in order to give more weight to his request, enclosed in his letter of supplication a testimonial from the Jesuit fathers of Anchin College, "certifying the great work for souls which the seminary had accomplished."²² At Rome the request was supported by Father Everard Mercurian, general of the Society. His intercession carried the day, as we learn from a letter of Gregory Martin to Edmund Campion, now a Jesuit professor at Brunn in Bohemia. "We owe this success mostly, he writes, to that man who being the head and governor of your whole order, was no less eager in his efforts, born of his love and zeal for us, than he was successful in the use he made of his influence and authority. So that we who, up till now, have equally with others revered your Society for its holiness and merits, now having received from it no common benefit, should much more earnestly than others grant it love, honour and veneration."²³ But to Gregory Martin — a

²⁰*Litterae D. Alani ad D. Vendevillum*, Sept. 16, 1578 or 80; MS. English College Rome. The letter is found in an English translation in KNOX, *op. cit.*, pp. xxxviii-xliii, from which translation we borrow the above passages (p. xl).

²¹ Cf. in KNOX, *op. cit.*, p. xliii, the description of the college by John Pitts, the famous author of the *Catalogus Scriptorum Britannorum*: "a very much larger number applied themselves to humanities."

²² KNOX, *op. cit.*, p. xxxv.

²³ "Idque cum aliis, tum imprimis illo viro... procurante qui, vestri totius ordinis princeps et praepositus cum sit, tantum pro nobis studio et pietate voluit contendere quantum gratia et autoritate valuit obtinere. Ut nos qui antea Societatem illam pari

humanist of the older, patristic School, — the saintliness of the new order was not its only title to admiration. The Jesuits deserved no less praise for their attempt to recapture classical studies for the benefit of Catholicism. "I am weary, he says to Campion, of that profane lore (which I am teaching); not that I should dispraise the industry of others in it, for it is useful indeed and necessary to the commonwealth; but because I have not yet learnt that wonderful art of yours, through which in so many schools of humanities, almost against the words of the Saviour, you gather figs from thorns, and grapes from brambles."²⁴

The saying is worthy of note. Here we have one of the chief teachers at Douay praising the Jesuit plan to make classical literature the handmaid of religion; a plan which was to be Southwell's own in regard to English poetry. There was indeed at Douay more than praise and love of the Jesuits. The devotional revival of which they were the leaders had found a footing within the walls of the college. The English refugees tried to atone by renewed fervour for the sins and lukewarmness of their forebears. "We ought therefore, Allen writes, to do penance and confess our sins not in a perfunctory way as we used to do when for custom's sake we confessed once a year; but we should go into our whole past life and perform the *Spiritual exercises* under the fathers of the Society in order to the perfect examination of our consciences, and choose a holier state of life and one more fitted to secure our own salvation and that of others. We should likewise enter into a holy union with many for our church and country..."²⁵ The use of St. Ignatius *Exercises* is significant. They would necessarily turn the thoughts of many an ardent-minded youth towards the religious life and especially the Society, then in all the glow of its passionate enthusiasm. The Jesuit fathers apparently acted as directors of conscience. Frequent confession and communion were part of the devotional scheme embodied in the *Exercises*; and we find that at Douay, they were prescribed on every Sunday and greater feast. In agreement with the very spirit of the Society of Jesus, far less stress was laid upon dry

semper cum caeteris reverentia pro suo sanctiori merito prosecuti sumus, nunc, beneficio quoque ab eadem affecti singulari, multo praeter caeteros impensius amare, amplecti, venerari debeamus." Gregory Martin to Edmund Campion, Dec 20. 1575, reprinted in KNOX, *op. cit.*, p. 310.

²⁴ "Taedet harum profanarum disciplinarum,... non quin aliorum in hoc genere laudem industriam, utilem sane ac reipub. necessariam, sed quia nondum didici vestram illam artem admirabilem, qua per tot scholas humanioris literaturae, propemodum contra sententiam Servatoris, de spinis ficus colligitis et uvas de rubo vindemiatis." Same letter, *ibid.*, p. 312. Gregory Martin characteristically uses *Servator* for *Salvator*, and improves the text of the Vulgate, in true humanistic guise (Matth, vii, 16 : Numquid colligunt de spinis uvas, aut de tribulis ficus).

²⁵ From the above-mentioned letter of Allen to Vendeville. We quote the translation found in KNOX, *op. cit.*, p. xxxix. The same letter supplied us with all the particulars rehearsed here as to the devotional life of the College.

theological learning than upon the simpler virtues suitable for a soldier in the army of Christ : the students were to "abound in zeal for God's house, charity and thirst for souls."²⁶ The training of the future priests was essentially practical, and included in the first place instruction in the catechism of Peter Canisius, the Jesuit apostle of Germany.

* * * * *

Such an enthusiastic ideal of ardent piety and self-devotion must soon have attracted Southwell's eager and sensitive heart; and his spiritual directors, who no doubt had spotted him out as a promising subject, found it easy to inspire him with a wish to take part in the spiritual warfare of the new Catholic militia. It does not seem that before making up his mind, he went through the perplexities which a grown-up man might have known. In a letter, written some years after to his friend John Deckers, he states both his motives and his aim in words which exactly recall the opening part of the *Exercises*. He repeated at second hand the spiritual experiences of St. Ignatius, including that "desire to atone for the misdeeds of his past life" which can hardly have meant much to him personally.²⁷ If he underwent any religious crisis at all, it was of a different nature. Having resolved to ensure his own salvation by forsaking the world, he yet had to make his choice of a religious order. His natural bent was to seek the most arduous way and the shortest cut to perfection; and therefore he thought of joining the Carthusians, towards whose austere life, in after years, he could not help casting back a look of longing regret. In one of his meditations, he urges himself to the strict observance of the smallest points in the Jesuit rule, as a compensation for the ascetical practices which might have been required of him elsewhere : "Such things as are ordinary in the Society, he writes, should have no difficulty for thee, if we consider those which are usually performed by other religious orders, such as the Carthusians, Capuchins &c. For those, if they do nothing else, at least have their severity in dress and food, their fasting and chaunting, which they may offer to God, and through which they may retain the name of true religious men. But as for thee, if thou neglectest the smallest things... what will remain to distinguish thee from one living in the world... for we eat, if not as much as we like, at any rate as much as befits a true Christian living in the world; and the same applies to our sleep &c."²⁸

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. xxxviii.

²⁷ "Jis temporibus quibus, tu peccatis et sceleribus vacabas." MS. N° 5618 (Inv. n°) Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, *Exercitia et Deuotiones R. P. Roberti Sotwelli*, fol. 43 b (to be hereafter referred to as *Brussels MS.*) "Vacabas" is obviously taken here in its later meaning.

²⁸ "Nec vere ea quae sunt in Societate ordinaria vllam habent in te difficultatem, si ea respiciamus quae ab aliis religionibus v(erbi) g(ratia) Carthusianis, Capucinis &c.

On the other hand he was both too tender-hearted and too practical-minded to confine himself to a life of prayer and mortification, while the spiritual needs of so many of his fellow-creatures were urgently crying for help. He was firmly convinced that God himself had selected him for a more active sort of life. In joining the Society, he had the needs and miseries of the times in his mind; and after a few years, while as yet confined by the will of his superiors to homely duties in a Jesuit house, he was tempted to think — though he rejected the temptation, — that his heaven-inspired purpose had not been fulfilled: "Thou shalt ask, he says to himself, while meditating on resignation to the divine will, thou shalt ask what good it was that God should guide thee to the Society rather than to the Carthusians and other solitary orders; if not for one only motive and reason, namely that my country, my kinsmen, my parents, seemed to need my help; to whom I can bring succour in the Society only, and not in the other said orders."²⁹ The motives which determined Southwell's vocation were later summarized by himself in the following words:

"The end I had in view in entering the Society was: 1, that by continual mortification of myself, by true contempt of the world, and perfect observation of the rules and of my vows, I might be made, as far as could be done, like to Christ crucified for me, and aspire to his love with my whole striving; 2, that I might do penance for my numberless sins committed against God in this life; 3, that distrusting my own infirmity, misery and ignorance, I might give myself up to be directed by the Society's ministers and their vicars, and entrust to them the whole care of my soul and body; and lastly that, if god's will as unfolded by my superiors decreed so, I might apply myself with all my strength to the salvation of others too."³⁰

Southwell's need of self-abasement, his eager wish to turn his hand to a practical task, here find a dry, logical expression, which seems

funt ordinariè. Illi enim si nihil aliud faciunt saltem asperitatem habitus, victus, inedia. psalmodiam &c habent quae Deo offerunt, & quibus religiosi titulum possunt retinere. Tu si minora negligis [sic]... quid... superest quo a saeculari distinguaris... Comedimus enim si non quantumlibet, saltem quam verum Christianum et saecularem deceret, & idem de somno &c est iudicium." Brussels MS. p. 56^a.

²⁹ "Petes, quid ergo me Deus ad Societatem potius quam ad Cartusianos, & alios solitarios ordines hoc tantummodo argumento et ratione perduxerit, quod nempe patria, proximi, parentes &c mea opera videbantur egere, quibus in Societate tantum et non in alijs dictis ordinibus adesse possem." Brussels MS. fol. 48b.49a.

³⁰ "Finis ingressus mei est I^o ut per continuam meipsi mortificationem, per verum mundi contemptum, et perfectam regularum votorumque observationem, Christo pro me crucifixo quam fieri potest similis efficerer, et ad illius amorem toto conatu aspirarem 2^o vt de innumeris quae contra Deum commisi peccatis in hac vita poenitentiam agerem 3^o ut (propriae infirmitati, miseriae et ignorantiae diffusus) illius ministris et vicarijs me in omnibus regendum traderem, totamque animae et corporis curam illis committerem. Denique vt si voluntas Dei per superiores explicanda ita decreuerit, proximorum etiam saluti totis viribus inkomberem." *Ibid.*, fol 3a.b.

unnatural in the case of an ardent, enthusiastic youth. Yet let there be no mistake. The above lines were penned later, when he had been subjected to the severe discipline of Jesuit self-analysis. In fact, his resolve was not the outcome of frigid reasoning, but much more of his fervent longing for a closer spiritual union with God. The following effusions were composed while he was still seeking admission into the Society, and are not the cold afterthoughts of regulated meditation. "Through thy loving sweetness, he wrote, passionately addressing Christ, thou hast grasped to thyself my heart, and I must needs offer myself up a slave to thee. For thou hast vanquished me, o Lord Jesus, thou hast vanquished me in a twofold fight. For when first I was assailed by thy holy inspirations, I resisted, as if the choosing me for one of thy Society brought more pleasure to thee than gain to myself. Thou sawest o Lord my infirmity, and with new engines shattering the ramparts of my heart, as I could flee nowhere, beings needs compelled, after a long struggle I gave myself up, and submitted myself to thy powerful hand."³¹

This beautiful passage is a very early instance of that touching heart-to-heart intercourse with Christ which appears more than once in Southwell's devotions; and although the process of his vocation be here described by means of poetical, if somewhat rhetorical, images, the account is none the less perfectly sincere and true to fact, since it tallies in every detail with another document of a more sober character, the writer's above-mentioned letter to John Deckers. Both Deckers (or Deckerius) and Leonardus Lessius played an important part in the crisis which was to determine the course of Southwell's religious career. Lessius (or Leys) was born near Antwerp in 1554.³² He was educated at Anchin College (founded in 1569) and being admitted into the Society of Jesus, entered the noviciate on June 23, 1572. Having spent his two years there, he was, at the early age of twenty, not being as yet a priest, made a professor in the same college, where he taught philosophy for seven years (1574-1581). He was, we hear, a remarkably learned man, deeply versed in the Greek tongue and other branches of knowledge, and his teaching may have extended to the humanities as well. At any rate, such a youthful master must have been almost on

³¹ Henry MORE, *op. cit.*, p. 174. "Tu amicabili tua dulcedine rapuisti ad te cor meum, et necesse est ut ego me tibi tradam servum. Vicisti enim me, vicisti me Domine Iesu duplici praelio. Nam cum primum me sanctis tuis inspirationibus aggressus es, ego restiti, quasi tuam in Societatem me cooptari plus voluptatis allaturum tibi esset quam mihi lucri. Vidisti Domine infirmitatem meam et novis machinis quatiens munitionem cordis mei, cum nullum reperirem effugium, necessitate compulsus post multam luctam tradidi me, et manui tuae potenti me submisi."

³² Most of the particulars of Lessius' life are taken from De BACKER-SOMMERVOGEL, *Bibliothèque S. J.*, and VACANT ET MANCELOT, *Dictionnaire de théologie*, IX, I, 453. Additional information was kindly supplied by Fr. Alfred Poncelet, S. J., the well-known historian of the Flandro-Belgian province of the Society of Jesus.

terms of comradeship with the students; he easily found his way to their hearts, and imparted to them his own ardent enthusiasm. He was to come into touch again with Southwell, while studying at the Roman College, where he was a from May, 1583, to Ascension day, May 10, 1584.³³ The poet remained on terms of close friendship with him, and we shall meet him again on our way. As for John Deckers (1560-1619), a native of Hazebrouck in Flanders, he was Southwell's fellow student at Anchin College,³⁴ and the warm friendship which began there was to last on for the whole of their lives. This is how Southwell had recourse to his professor and to his comrade at a critical time, and how they helped him to put an end to his hesitations.³⁵

"While still uncertain, he says, about my vocation, I was tossed to and fro by various interior impulses, wavering between the bark of Bruno and that of Ignatius, yet was unable to reach either, being well-nigh drowned by the beating waves of temptation. Then shaping a more prudent course, I frequently sought advice of my soul's physician [his Jesuit confessor at Anchin College]. He, with repeated arguments, exhorted me to follow steadily my first vocation, which was to the Society. In this way he calmed for awhile my interior tumult of soul, yet not so thoroughly but that on leaving him some new storm would buffet my mind with not less fury than before. Thus beset by daily assaults and uncertain where to find a haven of safety, I began to be worn out with the incessant struggle. At one time the Institute of the Society would attract me, and presently the devil by his artifices would cause me to change my mind. If I thought of enlisting under the banner of Bruno, at once I was exposed to the misgivings of conscience. Tossed about in this wretched way, ever wrestling with myself, I found no peace for three months." Here "temptation" again appears, and even "the devil." Yet the horror of actual sin seems to have been wholly absent from a spiritual struggle which was not taking place in the open field of wordly life, but in the wholly spiritual atmosphere of a Jesuit College. It is obvious that even at the time, Southwell considered his yearning for the life of the Carthusians as a sort of weakness, which diverted him from the path divinely marked out for him, and against which he ought to strengthen himself, while becoming confirmed in what he says to have been his first resolve, that

³³ Information kindly supplied by Fr. Alfred Poncelet, S. J.

³⁴ This appears from the letter mentioned in the following note.

³⁵ The following passages are borrowed from a letter of Southwell to JOHN DECKERS, written in October 1580, while the former was at the Roman College, S. J. and the latter at the College of Naples. The Latin text of the letter is published in *Catholic Record Society Publications*, vol. v., pp. 295-298, and is followed by a translation (pp. 298-300) by Fr. J. H. POLLEN, S. J., from which the above quotations are taken. The Latin text being easily referred to, it has been thought unnecessary to reproduce it here.

of joining the Society of Jesus. Therefore he asked his confessor to find out for him a spiritual friend, "who had desires similar to his."

At the very time when he was making this request, "the divine goodness arranged, he writes to Deckers, that you should be walking about with master Leonard [Lessius]... The Father (Confessor) pointing you out to me, said ; 'There is one who for a year or more has been burning with a zeal like yours to serve God, and who, unlike you, has never betrayed any sign of inconstancy.' Transported with sudden joy at these words, I felt relieved of all doubt, so that rarely, if ever afterwards, have I had any misgiving as to the certainty of my vocation to the Society. Forthwith, impatient of delay, I strongly urged him to obtain straightway your consent to be my spiritual friend. The Father noticing the sudden change in me, and reflecting what advantage might accrue to us both from mutual intercourse, promised to lay the matter before Master Leonard. I, on my part, intent on recommending the same to God, took leave of him, and spent the whole of that day in suspense between hope and fear; fear because of our different nationality and tongue, hope because of the conformity of our wills in the same holy purpose, which latter consideration seemed to me to have greater force to unite us than any other might have to keep us asunder."

The following paragraphs of the letter make it quite clear how the bond of union between the two comrades was from the outset, not mutual attraction of a purely human sort, but a common will to love and serve God. Although he had not met Deckers as yet, Southwell was transported with joy at the thought of their spiritual friendship; he already "formed in his mind" a high "esteem... of his devotion, piety, inward communication with God." At last his expectations were fulfilled : "I was sent for and heard from Master Leonard the glad and welcome news, viz, that you [he is still speaking to Deckers] had consented [to be my spiritual friend], tidings that filled me with joy. It only remained for us to strengthen by interchange of friendly conversation, the intimacy thus started for us by others. A rendezvous was appointed, and what spot more suitable than that in front of the chapel; there we met and disclosed to each other the desires and secrets of our heart, and were both kindled with enthusiasm as we conversed about God and the Institute of the Society. No friend was then so dear to John as Robert, none so dear to Robert as John; no delight in this world seemed greater than to enter into the Society. Not a day passed, not an opportunity was lost. Whatever free time we could steal for conversation together seemed all too short. From that time our fervour in prayer began to increase; private chastisements of the flesh to afford delight; the unsparing use of the hairshirt and discipline to please exceedingly."

Thus sternness towards the flesh, which is strength, was coupled in Southwell's soul with the sweetness of love, love of Christ and love of a friend in Christ. We have quoted his own account of his soul's crisis at full length, because it throws much light upon the various reasons which concurred in producing his "vocation" to the Society of Jesus. That the ground was prepared for it cannot be doubted; perhaps it had been prepared in England already. What is more, there was from the first a secret harmony between some of the main features of his moral temperament, and the spirit of the Society of Jesus. Where the requirements were obedience, submission, the resignation of one's own will into the hands of one's superiors, he brought humbleness, a proneness to distrust and disregard himself, an eager longing for self-effacement. Where love of Christ was set up as the one possible motive of man's life, he brought all the natural tenderness of his heart.

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Southwell's stay at Douay was soon to come to an end. The situation of the English College had for some time been precarious. The confusion consequent upon the wars of religion had made it difficult for the English exiles to find a safe harbour on the Continent; and they had at last elected Douay as a place of refuge because the city lay within the dominions of the most Catholic king of Spain, on subsidies from whom they largely subsisted. The very help they received from him was the cause of their misfortunes. Popular feeling was running high against Philip even in Catholic Flanders, and the English scholars shared in the odium of which the Spanish monarch had become the object. Towards the end of 1576 the relations between the College and the inhabitants of Douay became so much strained, that Allen and his companions began to fear for their lives. Eventually the College had to be removed to Rheims in March 1578, but in the autumn of 1576 already things had come to such a point that most of the students had to take to flight and remain away for some months, their numbers falling from 120 to 40. A contemporary relation tells us that many "consulted their own safety, and betook themselves to France, Italy or even England."³⁶ The diary of the College — now kept with characteristic slackness, in the midst of general confusion — tells us that between the 10th and the 19th of November, "during these few days there went away from us, on account of dangers which were looming ahead, partly to Paris and partly to England, amongst others those whose names follow : Master Soutwhell,... the two brothers

³⁶ *Brevissima epitome* &c (Archives of the See of Westminster) printed in KNOX, *op. cit.*, p. 303 : "Caeteri securitati suae consulunt, in Galliam, Italiam ipsamque Angliam discedendo.." The same relation has provided us with the other particulars mentioned here.

Cotton, another Cotton of Derby,... the sons of gentlemen."³⁷ Southwell's destination was not England, and therefore must have been Paris. Still, whether and how long he remained there is a matter of some uncertainty, and therefore the available evidence must be subjected to somewhat closer scrutiny.

Strange to say, Fr. Henry More, who certainly had before his eyes when writing, first-hand documents now lost to us,³⁸ makes no mention of Douay in his biography of Southwell. However, after referring to the poet's childhood, he adds that "when a young man of fifteen, so that he might be safer from the heretical pest, he was sent to Paris, to live for two years in common with John Cotton, a gentleman of the highest virtue and faith,"³⁹ who is supposed to have helped him later in his missionary labours.⁴⁰ That Southwell did leave Flanders for Paris, we know from the above-quoted entry in the Douay diary; but in stating that he was there for the space of two years, More has let his imagination run away with him.⁴¹ The real duration of the poet's stay appears from his correspondence. The letter to Deckers in which Southwell recounts his "vocation" is an answer to a similar confession from Deckers, dated September 27th, 1580. The poet's "spiritual friend" there alludes to their acquaintanceship at Douay, then tells how, while Southwell's zeal burned high, his own became so lukewarm, that he almost gave up his resolve to become a Jesuit. Southwell went to Rome first, to seek admission into the Society; and then Deckers was stricken with remorse at not having accompanied him, and both the fear of God's anger and the prayers of his friend strengthened his will: "Therefore the difficulties of winter, its rains and snows being overpast, after the clefts of the earth and the precipices everywhere to be met with were known to allow an easy passage to travellers, I began to seek after the absent one and... I came to Rome."⁴²

³⁷ KNOX, *op. cit.*, p. 113: "His paucis diebus propter periculorum suspicionem hinc a nobis partim Parisios partim Angliam discesserunt praeter alios isti quorum nomina sequuntur... Mr Sowtwellus..., Cottoni duo fratres, Cottonus alius Derbiensis... nobilium filii."

³⁸ In his *Historia Provinciae Anglicanae S. J.* he quotes from a collection of one hundred and fifty *Epistolae familiares* which unfortunately are not now to be found.

³⁹ HENRY MORE, *op. cit.*, p. 173. "Quindecim annorum adolescens (vt & ipse ab haeretica peste securior esset) missus Parisios, in conterbunio nobilis & summa virtute ac fide viri Ioannis Cottoni biennium duxit."

⁴⁰ M^{rs} C. M. HOOD quotes in support of this surmise S. P. Dom. Eliz. CCXXXVIII, n. 62, where however it does not appear which Mr Cotton is meant (*The book of Robert Southwell*, p. 9, n. 1.)

⁴¹ BARTOLI also mentions Paris, Thomas Darbyshire and John Cotton, probably following More (*Europeae historiae S. J.... Anglia*, Lyons, 1671. Latin edition by Fr. Louis Janin).

⁴² Stonyhurst MSS. Anglia. A III. i.: "Ergo iam transactis Hyemis difficultatibus imbribus nivibusque sedatis, postquam terrarum hiatus, et precipitia usquequaque obvia facile viatoribus innotescerent, cepi absentem... perquirere: et... Roman veni."

Deckers adds that he had hoped to meet Southwell there, but was not granted enough time to see him, being sent on directly to Naples. Now we know that he was there admitted into the Society, on May 25th, 1578.⁴³ It is clear from the above lines that Southwell had left for Italy in the course of the previous autumn, before the snows had set in, and thus his stay in Paris, which had begun in November 1576, cannot have lasted for more than one year.

There are reasons to think, however, that it was even shorter. If we again refer to the Douay diaries, we find an entry dated June 15th, 1577, according to which "there came from Paris to the College master Thomas Smyth, bachelor of theology, with the honourable youths, his pupils, Southwell and the two Audleys."⁴⁴ Now this entry is not an isolated one. Just about the same date, a number of pupils are mentioned as having come back to Douay.⁴⁵ The tempest had blown over, and the college was now a place of comparative safety; and the future poet probably resumed his place among his school-fellows. to proceed with his studies and religious training. On the other hand, some of the evidence points, not to a final return, but to a mere visit. The expression used in the case of Southwell is not "regressus est," or "reversus est," or even "redii," but simply "venit." The boy's coming to Douay at that time may have had something to do with his eager desire to be admitted into the Society. We know that his young age was deemed an obstacle, and he may have been seeking to enlist the support of the fathers at Anchin in his favour. According to More, who here seems to be using first-hand documents, "some letters hint that he betook himself to Belgium, in order to perform that which he had set his heart upon"⁴⁶; and this may well refer to is journey to Douay. Be this as it may, and were it even certain that Southwell's stay in Paris was limited to the space of eight months, that short period was one which mattered in many ways, and which it will be worth our while to submit to closer investigation.

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There was in Paris one place only to which the fathers at Anchin could possibly send their pupil, and that was the Jesuit college in the French capital, known as the Collège de Clermont. That Southwell was

⁴³ De BACKER-SOMMERVOGEL, *op. cit.*, tom. II, col. 1870. Fr. Alfred Poncelet kindly informed me that the source there used is the *Triennial catalogues* S. J.

⁴⁴ KNOX, *op. cit.*, p. 124 : "15 die [Junii 1577] Parisiis venit Mr Smytheus theol. baccal cum suis discipulis claris adolescentibus Southwello et duobus Audleis."

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 122 sqq, 1st, 15th and 17th of June. Note on the 14th of June the following entry, which seems to refer to a case similar to that of Southwell : "Eodem die Parisiis huc venit adolescens quidam M. Gibbons literis reverendi patris Darbisherii commendatus."

⁴⁶ MORE, *op. cit.*, p. 175 : "In Belgium enim quaedam literae innuunt concessisse, vt quod sederat animo perficeret."

a student there is nowhere expressly mentioned; yet we find clear, though indirect, confirmation of the fact in the pages of Fr. Henry More, whose statements are indeed always to be used with caution, but cannot in the present instance be ignored, since they tally with other known facts. There was then an elderly English Jesuit residing in Paris, who was engaged in watching over the spiritual welfare and private interests of such among his Catholic countrymen, as were exiles for their faith on the Continent. His name was Thomas Darbyshire, and he was playing a considerable part behind the scenes. Southwell now came under his influence, and entrusted to him the direction of his conscience: "He made him his instructor in piety; confided to him whatever trace of sin might have touched his tender little soul; and imparted to him any secret advice which God, out of his kindness, might have brought to his mind. From Darbyshire he learnt to trust in this divine kindness, and to hope for its help in whatever he undertook with a pious heart."⁴⁷ Now we know that some years later, in June 1593, Darbyshire was on the staff of the Collège de Clermont, as master of the novices, and spiritual father.⁴⁸ It seems clear that he already held that position, or a similar one, at the time of Southwell's stay in Paris.⁴⁹ At any rate, he was, about that period, "lecturing in Latin to the members of the Sodality of the Blessed Virgin."⁵⁰ Now the Sodality was one of the "Congregations" of the Jesuit College.⁵¹ It had been founded in 1569, and in 1575, shortly before Southwell's arrival, it numbered 150 members, 22 of whom joined various religious orders at the end of the year.⁵² It cannot be reasonably doubted, therefore, that Southwell, who had already been singled out before leaving Douay, became both a pupil at the Collège de Clermont, and one of that spiritual élite of which Darbyshire was the head and leader.

⁴⁷ MORE, *op. cit.*, p. 173. "Thomâ vero Darbishier.... vtebatur ad pietatem instructore : Apud hunc deponerat quidquid tenellam mentem culpae tangebatur; huic impertiebatur si quid secretioris consilij divina benignitas ad animum attulisset ; ab hoc in ea benignitate fiduciam reponeere didicit, & eandem ad quaecunque pie statuisset perficienda sperare adiutricem."

⁴⁸ GUSTAVE DUPONT-FERRIER, *Du Collège de Clermont au Lycée Louis-le-Grand*, Paris 1921-1925, vol. III, index, sub. nom. Darbyshire : "Le P. Thomas Darbyshire, Darbishenus, 1593. Mense Junio, 'magister novicior., praefectus spiritualis'; Arch. Cie Jesus, Cat. Ann."

⁴⁹ According to the *Dict. Nat. Biogr.*, vol. XIV., pp. 44-45, he was residing in Paris in 1575-6, 1579 and 1583. This latter date is confirmed by Fr. Persons himself in his *Memoirs*. Cf. *Cath. Rec. Soc.*, vol. IV, pp. 108-9, where Darbyshire is stated to be in Paris shortly after April 16, 1583.

⁵⁰ MORE, *op. cit.*, p. 15, biography of Thomas Darbyshire. After mentioning his stay at Billom, and quoting in reference to it a document dated 1568, More adds immediately after : "Parisijs per aliquot annos ad Sodales Parthenios latinè peroravit."

⁵¹ GUSTAVE DUPONT-FERRIER, *Du Collège de Clermont au Lycée Louis-le-Grand*, vol. I, pp. 270-271.

⁵² Le P. Henri FOUQUERAY, *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus en France*, vol. I, p. 589, n. 2.

Southwell's new director was one of those men who linked up the older Catholic generation with the youthful, combative movement of the Counter-Reformation. A nephew of bishop Bonner, he was the poet's senior by forty-three years, being born in 1518.⁵³ After holding various preferments under Mary, he had been imprisoned by Elizabeth, and had later taken refuge on the Continent. He then passed through a spiritual struggle which appears like a curious prefiguration of Southwell's own difficulties. There was in both of them the same blending of tender lovingness and practical-mindedness; but Darbyshire rose higher than Southwell on the mystic ladder, and unlike his pupil, saw visions and heard voices, which guided him in the main circumstances of his life, and to begin with determined his vocation. He was caught in the great movement towards moral regeneration inside the Catholic Church which was rapidly gathering strength; but for some time he was lost in painful hesitancy as to the means of "making safe about his salvation. While he was considering in his mind the solitary life of the Carthusians, an unknown man suddenly appeared before him though the doors were shut : 'If thou becomest a Carthusian, the stranger spoke, thou art mindful of thy own salvation; but where will thy neighbour's be ?' These words put an end to his wavering. The Society of Jesus made it possible to attend to both [his neighbour and himself], and had thus, as he confessed, been clearly pointed out to him."⁵⁴ The times required an apostle, not a recluse; and Southwell was shortly to come to the same conclusion. Darbyshire eventually went to Rome, where he became a Jesuit on May 1st, 1563. He was then sent by his superiors to Dillingen, then to the college at Billom as a master of novices. He seems to have been the sort of tutor under whose influence young men are naturally apt to fall. At Billom we hear that he gained the hearts of the pupils through the example of his virtues, and his affable and loving disposition. He was "eminently gifted for the discernment of spirits,"⁵⁵ that is for determining the course of life which was best suited to the temperament and abilities of each student.

This born educator became a professed father in 1572, and on leaving Billom was sent to Paris. No evidence now remains as to his intercourse with Southwell, and we can only surmise what the nature of his influence was. He would no doubt confirm the boy in his resolve to enter the Society, yet may have had to cool and soothe his

⁵³ Biographical details on Darbyshire from *D. N. B.*, and MORE, *op. cit.*, lib. I, n° IX pp. 14-16.

⁵⁴ MORE, *op. cit.*, p. 14 : "...cum salutis suae in tuto collocandae avidus, solitariam Carthusianorum viuendi rationem versaret cogitatione, adstans repente clausis foribus vir ignotus, "Et tu, inquit, si Carthusianus futurus es, saluti tuae consules, at ubi futurus est proximus," ea voce discussa est dubitatio; Societatem Jesu in qua vtrique dare operam posset, quasi digito monstrari agnoscens."

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* p. 15. "Discernendorum spirituum gratia imprimis claruit."

ardent desires. For about that period we know that Southwell was urging his Jesuit masters to let him begin his noviciate forthwith, and that they were reluctant to admit such a youthful candidate; perhaps as Fr. Pollen surmised, on account of his father's unwillingness to let him become one of their number.⁵⁶ In the above-mentioned letter of September 27th, 1580, Deckers recalls both Southwell's eagerness and the difficulties placed in his way: "Why were you so impatient of all delay, as to spurn underfoot all those things which seem to hold back the men of this world, not remembering your mother-country, your parents, your comrades, or lastly your fortune. You will answer: 'I hastened without delay whither my vocation urged me... In vain those who wished to move you from your purpose were using every possible means; while those were vainly striving who, casting words into the air, either merely thought that your entrance was to be put off, or disapproved of your leaving for Rome.'⁵⁷ Leaving for Rome! the centre of Jesuit life, where the Jesuit spirit might be drunk in at its very fountainhead! The thought seems to have been uppermost in Southwell's mind, until that autumn of 1577, when less than eighteen months after his vocation, he was at last allowed to undertake the perilous journey to Italy. A thrilling journey indeed, though perhaps not such a self-willed affair as the words of some biographers would suggest. It was probably decided that some of the most brilliant pupils at Paris or Douay (Fr. Pollen here refers to the troubled state of Flanders),⁵⁸ would be sent to the Roman college for the completion of their studies or for their noviciate, and that they would travel in a batch. We know that Southwell had at least one companion, a young man of gentle blood like himself, Matthew Marshal.⁵⁹ They were still to wait one

⁵⁶ FR. POLLEN'S MS. life of Southwell, in the archives at the Jesuit House, Farm Street.

⁵⁷ Stonyhurst MSS. Anglia A. III. I. : "Cur adeo morae impatiens omnia, quae huius saeculi homines videntur posse remorari non patriae, non parentum, non Collegarum, non denique praeciosae suppellectilis memor, conculcabas? Respondes; quo me mea instigabat vocatio sine mora properabam... Frustra omnem movebant lapidem qui te à proposito dimovere contenderent: cum illi inaniter desudarent qui in aërem verba iactantes aut Ingressum duntaxat differendum censebant, aut Romanam profectionem minus approbant."

⁵⁸ FR. POLLEN'S MS. life of Southwell, Farm Street.

⁵⁹ FOLEY, (*Records of the English province. S. J.*, vol. I., p. 307) states that Southwell journeyed to Rome with John Dekker (Deckers); he is there probably interpreting a statement of ALEGAMBE (*Mortes illustres S. J.*, 1651 p. 181) who states that Southwell "Romam cum Ioanne Duscerio aequali, & eiusdem consorte consilij pedegrinabundus tetendit." Alegambe himself is probably interpreting YEPES, (*Historia particular, 1599*, p. 643) who writes that Southwell "fue a Roma en peregrinacion con otro mancebo noble de la misma edad, y fueron recibidos entrambos en [la compania]." Now whether Ioannes Duscerius ought to be translated as John Deckers is at least doubtful; and whether Alegambe was justified in inserting the name is no less open to question. That

full year, until both were admitted on the same day, St Luke's eve, October 17th, 1578.⁶⁰

Before we leave the Collège de Clermont and follow Southwell to Rome, something must be said of his life as a student, and of the scholastic exercises he had to perform. Like most of the pupils, whose numbers ran into hundreds, he was not a "convictor" or boarder, but an "externus" or day-boy, living, probably with other young men such as John Cotton, in the charge of a private tutor, somewhere in the neighbourhood of the Rue Saint Jacques.⁶¹ The tutor may have been that Master Thomas Smyth, who took him to Douay in June, 1577, in the company of two other pupils of his.⁶² As to Southwell's actual course of studies we are in the dark. But what we do know is that the atmosphere of the college must have come as a complete change after Douay. The "seminary" there was but a bit of England transplanted on Flemish soil; and even Anchin was "northern" in its character, with such teachers as Lessius. The Collège de Clermont was not even French. Most of the masters were southern in origin, Italian or Spanish; the students were most of the time forbidden to speak their native tongues, Latin only being allowed in everyday life.⁶³ The only subject taught was classics; among the authors on the syllabus were Cicero, then later Ovid (*Tristia* and *Epistolæ ex Ponto*), and Virgil.⁶⁴ The stress was laid on imitation, on exercises of literary mimicry. There may have been, as in many colleges of the Society at the time, a class solely devoted to humorous trifles, riddles, conundrums and enigmas.⁶⁵ The epigram was in high favour. All this will have to be remembered when we come to the study of Southwell's Latin verse and of his preciousity. Meanwhile, during his stay at Paris, his preparation for his future career developed in the same twofold way as before, though certainly not in the same proportions. He retained the use of his mother-tongue in the narrow English circle in which he spent his

Foley was mistaken is abundantly clear from Deckers' letter of September 27th, 1580, twice quoted in the above pages. What Alegambe had in his mind, or what source he was borrowing from, remains a matter for surmise.

⁶⁰ What refers to Southwell's journey to Rome with Marshal and to their admission is here stated on the authority of Fr Pollen, in *Cath. Rec. Soc.*, vol. V, p. 294; the source quoted is Fr Nathaniel SOUTHWELL, *Catalogus primorum patrum*, (STONYHURST MS. A. iv.3, p. 17) but on referring to that page in the Farm Street transcript it has not been possible to discover the passage referred to.

⁶¹ DUPONT-FERRIER, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 73-74. Most of the particulars referring to the Collège de Clermont are borrowed from the same work.

⁶² KNOX, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

⁶³ DUPONT-FERRIER, *op. cit.*, pp. 132 sqq.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 213-218.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 205.

leisure time, and was placed during his school hours in an artificial neo-classical atmosphere. Of France, of her language or literature, he neither learnt nor remembered anything.

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Southwell's Roman years are far better known to us than the preceding period. His private letters now provide much information, and the various stages of his life, being ordered according to the rules of the Society,⁶⁶ can be ascertained without a doubt. Let us first of all make the facts quite clear. The young man thought that upon reaching Rome, he would immediately be allowed to join the Society, but he was again disappointed. In the words of Alegambe, "at Rome, so that his youth might be tried, and his constancy somewhat proved, hopes were held out to him of obtaining that admission into the Society which he was seeking; but the fulfilment was somewhat put off, and a further period of study prescribed."⁶⁷ Whereupon Southwell expressed his deep sorrow in the beautiful lament which we have already referred to.⁶⁸ The piece begins with a brief exordium, in parallel sentences of a rhetorical cast, in which the future poet compares himself to Agar, "exiled from Abraham's house."⁶⁹ He then proceeds to bewail his present state : "How could I refrain from succumbing to my grief and sorrow, when I see myself divorced from that company, separated from that Society, torn asunder from that body, in which are placed my whole life, my love, and my delight."⁷⁰ He exhorts himself to warm tears, the outcome of warm love; he will throw himself down at the feet of the Lord and beseech his pity. But what mercy can he expect, since he has kept wavering for some time, and has not at once made up his mind to side with Jesus ? He is now suffering for his past foolishness, and his pain appears the heavier for being deserved : "While I live I languish, and life itself is wearisome."⁷¹ The young man is

⁶⁶ According to the *Constitutions*, the edition used here being : *Constitutiones Societatis Iesv...* Antverpiae, Apud Ioannem Mevrsivm, M. DC. XXXV.

⁶⁷ ALEGAMBE, *Mortes illustres S. J.*, p. 181 : " Romae adolescentis experiundi gratiâ, tentandaeque aliquantisper constantiae, facta spes illi quidem potiundae, quam postulabat, Societatis, sed ea nonnihil extracta studio, atque prolata est." The same statement appears in TANNER, *Societas Jesu militans*, Pragae 1675, p. 31 col. 1.

⁶⁸ Printed in full in Henry MORE, *op. cit.*, pp. 173-175. The original was in English, and is stated by Father Nathaniel SOUTHWELL, in his *Catalogus primorum patrum* (Stonyhurst MSS, A. IV. 3, P. 17) to have been in 1640 in the Archives of the English College at Rome.

⁶⁹ H. MORE, *op. cit.*, p. 173. "Exul a domo Abrahæ."

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 174 : "Quidni igitur ego dolore maeroreque conficiar qui me abiunctum video ab eo numero, seiunctum ab illa Societate, separatum ab eo corpore in quo est omnis mea vita, meus amor, mea voluptas."

⁷¹ *Ibid.* "Dum vivo languéo, et vita ipsa taedium est."

debarred from the love of God; he envies those who enjoy it freely. It is true, he reflects, thus proving his early experience of mystical life,⁷² that God at times purposely withdraws himself from them; yet they are solaced in those barren periods by the remembrance of past delights. "But alack for me, he proceeds, who am constrained to winter yet in the world, who am daily tossed about amid the billows of carnal desires, who am dashed on the reefs of sinful occasions. What fear, think you, may not possess my soul? What doubts, not solicit my heart? What dangers, not batter my unhappy ship? O wretched me, who would forbid my tears?"⁷³

The piece may have been touched up by More⁷⁴; but it is at best rhetorical in character. And yet it is obviously sincere. One may picture to oneself those years of stress and ardent longing; the busy, well-ordered life of study, with its secret background of burning piety; the repeated applications for admission into the Society, at Paris, at Douay, at Rome; the irksome delays, the intervals of fretfulness; and then, at last, the setting free of a flood of emotion, as the long-rejected request is at last granted. For on October 17th, 1578, Southwell, being as yet under seventeen years of age, became a novice in the Society of Jesus. He was bound, by the *Constitutions*, to spend two years in this position before proceeding any further.⁷⁵ We are here confronted by a puzzling statement of More, according to whom "being chosen into the Society at Rome, Southwell however spent a large part of his noviciate at Tournay in Belgium, to wit lest the youth, burning with holy desires, and as yet not inured to the scorching suns of Italy, should be oppressed by two heats in one body."⁷⁶ This assertion seems too precise to be lightly rejected; but it runs clear against the undoubted

⁷² And also his early familiarity with the *Spiritual Exercises* of St. IGNATIUS. Cf. *Exercitia Spiritualia*, Dilingae 1620, apud Melchiorum Algeyer, p. 208: "Cogitandum est, nos interim relinqui a Domino nobis ipsis, probationis causâ, ut per naturales quoque vires, insultibus inimici nostri obsistamus."

⁷³ *Ibid*: "At me miserum qui hybernare adhuc cogor in mundo, qui iactor quotidie in medijs fluctibus carnalium desideriorum, allidor ad scopulos occasionis peccandi; Quis timor exismatis me occupat? Quae dubia salutis sollicitant animam? Quae pulsant pericula infelicem ratem? Quis mihi misero prohibeat lachrymas?"

⁷⁴ A few lines of the lament are turned into Latin by Fr. Nathaniel Southwell; and it is noteworthy that his translation is simpler and more direct than that of More.

⁷⁵ *Constitutiones S. J. Antverpiae* 1635, p. 147.

⁷⁶ MORE, *op. cit.*, p. 177: "Romae in Societatem cooptatus magnam tamen partem Tyrocinij exegit Tornaci in Belgio, ne videlicet ardentem Sanctis desiderijs iuuenem, immoderatis Italiae aestibus nondum parem, duo in vno corpore calores opprimerent..." More's statement may possibly rest on a note in Father Nathaniel SOUTHWELL's *Catalogus primorum patrum*, written in 1640 (Stonyhurst MSS, transcript at the Jesuit house, 31 Farm Street, London, p. 17 of original, 92 of transcript). The words "Tyron Torn" appear at the head of the article devoted to Robert Southwell, in the top right-hand corner of the page. They may however bear a different construction, though we are unable to suggest any. Fr. Pollen, in his MS. notes on Robert Southwell (file at Farm Street in

fact that there was no noviciate at Tournay at the time. The Jesuits were turned out of the town by the Orange party on June 3rd, 1578, for refusing the oath of allegiance to the States General, which implied disloyalty to Don Juan and the king of Spain. They only came back on November 29th, 1581, after the victory of Alexander Farnese, and the noviciate was only reopened in 1582.⁷⁷ It is however possible that Southwell's untempered body may not have been equal to the unwholesome Roman climate. His health does not seem to have been of the best. His frequent references to sickness in his personal devotions, and a few words in one of his letters, in answer to friendly enquiries,⁷⁸ point to a sickly constitution. His force of will was greater than his physical strength, and perhaps ascetical practices, no less than the spiritual fever with which he burned, may have lessened his physical resistance. He may not unlikely have been sent to one of those country seats, by means of which many Roman institutions tried to palliate the deleterious effects of the city air.

At the close of his probation, he finally bound himself to the Society by taking his first vows. This happened exactly two years after his admission, as clearly appears from the title of a piece of Latin prose which was composed by him on this occasion : *Aliqua in die S. Lucae post emissa vota occurrentia*.⁷⁹

Shortly after he had left the novice-house, Southwell found himself in a position somewhat akin to that in which he had been placed at Douai. On the one hand he became a resident at the English College, or seminary, which Allen had founded at Rome in 1579, as part of his scheme for the training of Catholic missionary priests. The English College was meant for all classes of clergy, secular as well as regular, yet it had been entrusted to the charge of the Society of Jesus. We have definite proof of Southwell's presence there as early as December 2nd, 1581.⁸⁰ But on the other hand, on completing his noviceship, he had become a "Scholastic"; and was now called upon to complete his course of studies. No further literary training was necessary, since he

green cover) was probably interpreting the above note when he wrote that Fr. Nathaniel Southwell "quotes the Tournai noviciate register," but he may have had Henry More in his mind when he said this.

⁷⁷ The particulars about Tournay have kindly been supplied to us by Fr Alfred Poncellet, the historian of the Flandro-Belgian province S. J.

⁷⁸ Letter to Leonardus Lessius, 8 Januarij 1585 (Brussels, Archives du Royaume, Archives Jésuitiques Flandro-Belgae, N° 1301) "Ego Dei gratia, licet non optima, mediocri tamen utor sanitate."

⁷⁹ BRUSSELS MS. fol. 21a; also in MORE, *op. cit.*, p. 178; ALEGAMBE, *Mortes illustres*, p. 182-183; TANNER, *op. cit.*, p. 32, col 1-2.

⁸⁰ According to Father Pollen (MS notes on Robert Southwell), who quotes as his source *Annales*, English College, Rome, Southwell took the College oaths regularly from that date.

had graduated as a bachelor of arts, at the close of his first year at Rome, "extra societatem," that is, before his admission into the Society.⁸¹ But the *Constitutions* requested that he should study philosophy and then theology, four years at least being devoted to the latter branch of knowledge.⁸² Therefore he still attended the classes on those subjects at the Roman College, where he seems to have remained until the summer term of 1585. At the same time, his abilities were soon made use of for the training of others. From 1582 onwards, he was more than a mere resident at the English college: he was put in charge of tutorial work as a "repetitor."⁸³ Shortly before July 10, 1584, he had been ordained, and was henceforward referred to, not as "fratello," but as "padre Roberto Southwello."⁸⁴ On October 22nd, 1584, he was still "in the middle of his theology,"⁸⁵ but his term of study was drawing to a close, since in the spring or early summer of 1585⁸⁶ — one year, we hear, before he left for England in May, 1586⁸⁷ — he became prefect of studies to the English college, his influence over the students thus receiving full recognition. About the same time we hear that he was

⁸¹ General Archives S. J. Ex catalogo Prov. Romanae S. J. anno 1584: "Robertus Sotuellus Anglus... Baccalaur. in Artibus extra soc." ALEGAMBE, *Mortes Illustres*, p. 181, states that Southwell was admitted "post propositas, disputatasque publicâ commendatione Theses de Vniuersa Philosophia."

⁸² *Constitutiones*, ed. cit., p. 220. MORE *op. cit.*, p. 179 states that Southwell read in philosophy and theology at Rome; he might of course have begun his philosophy at the Collège de Clermont.

⁸³ General archives S. J., "Ex catalogo provinciae Romanae S. J., anno 1584: Robertus Sotuellus... Repetitor phil. ad 2 annos."

⁸⁴ Fr. Parsons to Fr. Agazzari, letter of March 24th, 1584 (Stonyhurst MSS. Collectanea P. p. 301) "Non posso scrivere a molti e per cio prego V. R. di scusarmi apresso il P. Leonardo et il fratello Roberto etc...." Same to same, July 10, 1584. *Ibid.*, p. 303: "Dio benedica il fervore di V. R. e del P. Southwello." Fr Christopher Greene, who transcribed the documents and extracts known as "Collectanea" in the Stonyhurst MSS., and who had a considerable mass of evidence at his disposal, states that in letters previous to 10 July, 1584, Southwell is always referred to as "fratello" (Collectanea N. I, p. 18, Stonyhurst MSS.)

⁸⁵ In a letter to Father Persons of October 22nd, 1584, the general of the Society, Claude Acquaviva, states that Southwell cannot be chosen for a teaching appointment in place of Fr Marshal, because his "aetas et studium" are not sufficient, "cum enim adhuc in medio ferme cursu theologiae versetur" (General Archives S. J. Gall. Ep. f. 60b, draft).

⁸⁶ "Robertus Sutwellus, Anglus, studiis praefectus" in Report of the Visitation of the English College by Cardinal Sega, printed in Arnold Oskar MEYER, *England und die katholische Kirche unter Elizabeth*, 1911, p. 435. The report is dated Sept. 2, but the visitation had taken place in August. On the other hand we hear from a note in Fr. Greene's coll. N. I (Stonyhurst MSS.) p. 506, that he was not yet prefect of studies, or at any rate not known as such at Rheims, on April 16th, 1585. "Barritus (Barrett, the rector of Rheims College) etiam 1. manusc. M. 214 supponit P. Southw. in Coll^o Anglic. sed distinguunt illum a P. Proefecto studiorum."

⁸⁷ "Unto ante discessum in Angliam anno." TANNER, *Societas Jesu militans*, p. 33, col. 1.

"Præfectus congregationis,"⁸⁸ i. e., in charge of that same Sodality of the Blessed Virgin of which he had been a member at the Collège de Clermont.

Regarding Southwell's connection with the Roman College, we shall have little to add for the present. Much has already been said about the Collège de Clermont which applies equally well to all Jesuit institutions of the same class. The college had been established in 1551⁸⁹; it was an early embodiment of the educational scheme first outlined in the *Constitutions*, and later described in full in the *Ratio studiorum*. In regard to the moral and religious life of the alumni, the stress was laid on their frequent performance of the *Exercises*, and on the practical character and purpose of the training imparted to them. The college was primarily founded for the training of scholastics, and had humble beginnings; but soon other students were admitted,⁹⁰ and began to gather in huge numbers, the total reaching as high a figure as two thousand.⁹¹ The classes were attended by pupils from the various seminaries established at Rome for the training of secular priests, in pursuance of the decrees of the council of Trent. Southwell moved in the midst of a variegated population of which the most part were Italians, but which also included Englishmen, Scotsmen, Irishmen, Belgians, Frenchmen, Germans, Bohemians, Poles, Spaniards, Portuguese, even Greeks and Maronite Syrians.⁹² In the circumstances Latin was, as already prescribed by the *Constitutions*, the only possible means of intercourse, and classical studies supplied the meeting-ground for men of all nations. However, the future apostolate of the scholastics was not lost sight of, and vernacular preaching was encouraged at Rome as well as at Douay. In the daily relations between students Italian would of course tend to gain the upper hand.

By now national differences would mean far less for Southwell than the common bond of union, the common ideal, provided by the Society, and the new *patria* that he found in it; yet he cannot have failed to feel that the English College in which he lived took far less after the home-country than the seminary at Douay had done. In both houses the scheme of devotional practice, mental and spiritual training, was that of the Jesuits; but at Douay it was applied by an English staff and in an English way. At Rome on the contrary the staff was

⁸⁸ In a letter of Barrett mentioned by Fr. Greene immediately after the fragment quoted in note 6 above. "Idem epla data 8 Aug. 1585 videtur supponere P. Southwellum fuisse tunc praefectum congregationis."

⁸⁹ FRANCISCUS SACCHINUS (SACCHINI), *Historia Societatis Jesu*, tom. I, p. 337, lib. XI, n° 4.

⁹⁰ F. JOSEPH BRUCKER, *La compagnie de Jesus*, 1919, pp. 77 sqq.

⁹¹ Fr. CHARLES DANIEL, *Les études classiques dans la Société Chrétienne*, 1853, p. 282.

⁹² SACCHINI, *op. cit.*, tom. III, lib. IV, N°s 144-145, Anno 1568, p. 174 and DANIEL, *op. cit.*, p. 282.

not English, but mostly Italian. Differences in temperament, especially in regard to devotional practice and social relations, may to a large extent counteract the effect of an agreement on principles in the everyday life of a community; and it would be surprising indeed if no unpleasantness of any sort had arisen between English youths and southern masters. We need not stop here to inquire to what extent the troubles were due to cabal and interference from outside. It is clear in any case that strict moral and spiritual discipline under Jesuit rule was irksome to students who had been accustomed to the easy-going life of the English universities : "The chief sowers of dissension, the Jesuit masters complained to cardinal Sega, the papal visitor, are those who have been in the University of Oxford, in which the graduates make a wrong use of the greatest liberty of life; and therefore the rules of education in our college appear to them as servitude."⁹³ On the other hand some of the students declared to the cardinal that the Jesuit staff unduly favoured those who showed leanings towards the Society, and especially the members of the Sodality or Congregation of the Blessed Virgin.⁹⁴ It would have been of unusual interest to find out how Southwell stood in regard to his fellow-countrymen on the one hand, and his fellow Jesuits on the other; whether his inherited or acquired personality stood then uppermost. Unhappily little is known in that respect, beyond the fact that he was the prefect of that very Sodality against which the more "nationalist" among the students expressed such bitter grievances. He must undoubtedly have been loyal to his order in the circumstances, but the fact that his name is merely mentioned in cardinal Sega's report is significant : his gentle, meek, idealistic, self-denying nature must have shrunk from the petty horror of unedifying squabbles.

At any rate he, at least, met with no hostility on the part of the students, his prestige over whom was due, if we are to trust the testimony of More, no less to his winning ways than to his intellectual accomplishments : "In the English seminary, he says, there were at the time a large number of young men, most distinguished by the variety and brilliancy of their minds; they could not be led easily, if not by a man who gained support from all the ornaments of learning. Now this Southwell lacked neither sharpness in the quick conception of things, nor soundness in judging them, nor ease of expression in explaining them clearly; and besides there was in him an innate suavity, and modesty joined with gravity, and a ceaseless striving after virtue amidst the heat of studies; and thus both in ruling the studies with authority, and in inciting souls to virtue, he bound to

⁹³ Report of cardinal Sega's visitation, in A. O. MEYER, *op. cit.*, p. 438.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 436.

himself the will of every one."⁹⁵ It seems likely that where others failed to force compliance, it was granted to him with a willing heart. For the secret strength of his outward sweetness seems to have cast a spell over all those who came near him, were it but once. Father Persons had paid a visit to the English college in September, 1583; from that time onwards, not a single letter of his came to the college, in which he did not express a wish to be remembered to dear Robert Southwell,⁹⁶ "il carissimo Roberto Southwello," as he calls him, or "il caro fratello mio Roberto."⁹⁷

* * * * *

Indeed, loving comradeship without any formal stiffness, was natural among those who lived a soldierlike life in a spiritual army; it was even more natural among ardent youths, whose immediate outlook was a missionary career amidst the dangers of bloody persecution, and the hope of a glorious martyrdom. The atmosphere of the college must have been like that of a camp, with troops awaiting their departure for the front. Frequent news came from the field of battle and went out again in the shape of letters to other schools and institutions; and Southwell himself was the centre of a network of correspondence which stretched away to northern France, to Flanders, and to southern Italy. His activity in receiving and distributing information was such that even his friend Fr. Persons thought he overdid it. In a letter to the rector of the English College, Fr. Agazzari, "he asks him to warn Southwell not to wear away his time by writing newsletters into France, but to apply himself to his studies."⁹⁸ But how dry and tedious mere theological learning must have seemed, when compared to the thrilling tidings from England! Here comes Southwell home from some quiet lecture at the Roman college. A packet has come for him: from the seminary at Rheims, the rector, Richard Barret, sends him an account of the trial and torture of John Bennett. The latter was a seminary priest from Douay, who being captured in Wales, professed the Catholic faith before the bishop of St. Asaph. He was thrown into a filthy dungeon, and an attempt was made to extract from him the names of those he had reconciled to the Catholic church, by putting him twice upon the rack.⁹⁹ Or again, at the close of some "tutorial" on Ovid or

⁹⁵ MORE, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

⁹⁶ File of Fr Pollen's MS notes, Farm Street, first and second sheets.

⁹⁷ Fr Persons to Fr Agazzari, January 21st, 1584 and March 24 th, 1584, Stonyhurst MSS, collectanea P, pp. 300-301.

⁹⁸ Same to same, August 20th, 1584, extract: "Rogat deinde Agazzarium ut curet moneri P. Southwellum ne terat amplius suum tempus scribendo nova in Galliam sed studiis se applicet...." Stonyhurst MSS, Collectanea P, p. 461.

⁹⁹ The account of the martyrdom of George Haydock and his companions was similarly "sent to F. Southwel in the English Coll. at Rome by a friend, who was present at

Pliny, Southwell enjoys some leisure in his room. He writes to the provincial of Naples, informing him of the condition of things in England. Again we hear of hangings, of torture, of the rack, of the capture of scholars going from England to Rheims: "The poor peasants who will not go to the Protestant churches, and are unable to pay the fine or sum of money that the heretics have imposed, are whipped through the streets. One amongst them was being treated in this way, when the man who whipped him, moved by compassion, told him to walk quicker, so as to receive less. But he answered that he might strike away, for Christ our Lord had suffered much more for him." And then tidings of more immediate interest for English Jesuits: "Father Gaspar Heywood has been captured by the heretics, and he will doubtless be most cruelly tortured, as they think he may be cognisant of all the affairs of Catholics. Be so good as to have prayers said for him, that God may grant him constancy. Another priest also of this college has been taken..."¹⁰⁰ Here, all around the writer, the peaceful beauty of Rome, the solemn worship in the churches, unanimous consent in the one true faith; there, afar, in the northern isle, suspicion and suffering, spies to waylay the missionary, judges to sentence him, excruciating pain for the body and danger for the soul — and yet the most fascinating, heart-lifting adventure of all, since death in martyrdom is the gate that leads one straight into the heavenly home.

Thus were Southwell's thoughts, during those long years of waiting, constantly turned towards England. Nor was he really, as Deckers said, "non parentum memor."¹⁰¹ His religious vocation had no narrowing effect upon his sympathies, and he affectionately remembered the associates of his early years. He was particularly anxious about their spiritual fate. In 1580 the two Jesuit fathers, Campion and Persons, had left for their magnificently imprudent campaign in England. Campion, who had spent a few days at Rome before his departure, and may have become known to Southwell then,¹⁰² was soon taken and executed. Persons stayed on for some more time. While he was still in England, we find Southwell writing to him,¹⁰³ urging him to get access to the members of his family, and send him news of their

his (Haydock's) martyrdom." (*Cath. Rec. Soc.*, vol. V, pp. 57-62). Haydock was hanged and quartered in February, 1584, and his behaviour at the time of his execution must have been a model and example to Southwell, especially when he prayed for the Queen.

¹⁰⁰ The two above passages are printed together with the rest of the letter to the Provincial of Naples, in *Cath. Rec. Soc.*, vol. V, pp. 303-306. The letter is in Italian, and a translation from which we borrow, is appended.

¹⁰¹ Stonyhurst MSS, Anglia A. III. i.

¹⁰² Richard SIMPSON, *Edmund Campion*, London 1896, p. 151.

¹⁰³ The letter was "written soon after the arrival at Rome of the news of Campion's execution, that is early in 1582" (*Cath. Rec. Soc.*, vol. V, p. 301).

religious position. The letter is in Italian, and couched in a veiled style — though the artifice be childish and transparent enough; it purports to be from one merchant to another, but the inquiries about wares and markets scarcely disguise the deep concern of the writer : "One request I particularly make : it is that you would contrive by all possible means to dispose of some of [your jewels] to the relatives of your friend Robert S., for I remember that at one time they were very keen about that particular quality of goods, and kept a factor who was occupied solely in searching for such gems. Possibly, now, after seeing the great losses others have sustained, they may have changed their minds, a circumstance which, if true, would grieve me sorely. I earnestly beg you to persuade them, if possible, either yourself or through another, not to lose heart because of any small loss that may happen; for such is the lot of merchants, at one time to rejoice over the amassing of wealth, at another to bear patiently the loss of some small barque. A strong suspicion for fearing that they may have withdrawn from this line of business, is occasioned by my never hearing of their having the same success as others have had, who have persevered and still persevere, even with an occasional loss, knowing full well that in the end it is more lucrative than any other sort of enterprise."¹⁰⁴ The letter, which is too long to be quoted in full, makes a few points clear : during Southwell's childhood in Norfolk, there was a Catholic chaplain resident in his parents' home; later, his brother Thomas had had dealings with Persons himself. But now the retirement of a secluded country district was no longer a sufficient shelter against the crushing weight of a growing persecution; and the Southwells, among whom the time-serving tradition of past generations had not wholly disappeared, were being gradually forced to give up the secret practice of catholicism. This was the cause of gnawing anxiety for the young Jesuit.

Meanwhile, it would be misleading to picture him as living in a state of constant excitement. That a fine quality of religious emotion, of enthusiasm and sensitiveness, is in no wise exclusive of more workmanlike virtues, is nowhere better illustrated than in the practical side of his activities. He already appears as taking his share in the work or organization on the continent which was necessary to countercheck the anti-Catholic policy of the English government. We find him obtaining means for his cousin Anthony Copley, the future poet,¹⁰⁵ to come and reside at the English College at Rome. In 1584 he wrote to Copley's father, enclosing a letter of Cardinal Farnese.¹⁰⁶ Then

¹⁰⁴ *Cath. Rec. Soc.*, vol. V, pp. 301-303, Italian text and English translation of Fr. Pollen, from which we borrow.

¹⁰⁵ For further details in regard to the Copleys, see below, chapt. II, and Appendix I.

¹⁰⁶ Letter of Lady Copley, Anthony's mother, to Southwell, April 8th, 1585. Stonyhurst MSS, Anglia A. I. 25.

"of his own accord and love toward [his cousin] procured ten crowns pension of pope Gregory for his better maintenance."¹⁰⁷ Anthony Copley arrived at the English college early in 1585 and, being "well likid of these good blessid fathers,"¹⁰⁸ stayed there for the space of two years. His mother, Lady Copley, sent her warmest thanks to Southwell. To finish with this account of the latter's personal relations while at Rome, we should mention a letter of his to Lessius, who after residing at the Roman College of the Society from May 1583 to Ascension-day, 1584,¹⁰⁹ had been sent to Liège. The letter, apparently written in the presence of John Deckers, is a typical illustration of Southwell's personality and style, tender friendship being mingled with delicate, feminine, preciousity: "Father John Deckers begs, insists and begs again that I should make an end of this. My speech is short but longer is my love, which though it cannot be expressed in this letter, yet may be guessed at; and as for him who knows, so for him who loves, few words are enough."¹¹⁰

Indeed, Southwell's literary personality, as well as the features of his moral temperament, were becoming clearly marked in the course of his Roman years. Yet in regard to his actual literary performance and to the means of expression at his disposal, his long stay abroad and his exclusively classical studies must undoubtedly have placed him in an unusual and difficult position. His contemporary and earliest biographer, Diego de Yepes, states that in the English College, "he applied himself with much diligence to the study of his native tongue, which he had already nearly forgotten, because he had left England very young."¹¹¹ There would seem good reason for such an assertion, if the contrary were not proved by the above-quoted English "lament," composed in a style of elaborate preciousity before October 1578. That apart from English, Southwell had other languages at his command, is shown by his works and correspondence. Whether he knew Greek can only be surmised, but he was a proficient Latin scholar. He had also become thoroughly acquainted with the Italian tongue. The use of Italian was allowed at the English College, especially at recreation-time and in

¹⁰⁷ Copley's statement to William Wade, lieutenant of the Tower, in STRYPE, *Annals* (Oxford, 1824) vol. IV, pp. 12-13.

¹⁰⁸ Lady Copley's above-quoted letter.

¹⁰⁹ These particulars were kindly forwarded by Fr. Alfred Poncelet, S. J.

¹¹⁰ Brussels, Archives du Royaume, Archives jésuitiques, Flandro-Belgrae, N° 1301. Letter of Southwell to Lessius, January 8th, 1585. "P. Johannes Deckerius instat, urget et ingeminat ut finiam. Breve est verbum sed longior amor qui licet hisce literis non exprimi potest iudicari tamen potest et ut sapienti ita et amanti pauca."

¹¹¹ Diego de YEPES, *Historia Particular*, Madrid 1599, p. 642, § 2: "Adonde torno a estudiar con mucho cuydado su lengua natural, que ya avia casi olvidado, por aver salido muy nino de Inglaterra." The statement is repeated by CHALLONER, *Memoirs of missionary priests*, ed. 1742, vol. I, p. 324.

conversation with strangers. Though most of Southwell's letters are in Latin, four of them at least are in fluent, idiomatic Italian. What is more, he soon became familiar with the literary productions and fashions of the country in which he was living. Especially after his appointment at the English College, the young Jesuit was anything but a recluse. In connection with English affairs, and the interests of the refugees, he had dealings with members of the papal court. Contemporary Italian letters, it should be remembered, were largely under the influence of the Counter-reformation movement. They were closely bound up with the Church, and their most eminent representatives were either churchmen, or laymen who moved about in ecclesiastical circles. The Papacy itself had taken the lead, which was followed by cardinals and other dignitaries. Thus was Southwell brought into touch with what was at the time, whatever its real and permanent value, the best of Southern literary thought and expression.

As we pause on the threshold of Southwell's strenuous mission years, we find him fully trained for his work of spiritual leadership, but as yet imperfectly prepared for his literary labours. He has spent his youth in a hothouse atmosphere; he is not yet acquainted by direct touch with the harder realities of life, which alone wring from the heart the strains of true lyricism or true eloquence. The coming period, with its trials and suffering, will bring him the human experience without which no artist can be.

CHAPTER II

THE APOSTOLATE OF LETTERS IN ENGLISH COURT-CIRCLES

EVER since Southwell had resolved, in his youthful enthusiasm, to join the Society of Jesus, he had had martyrdom before his eyes as the final goal. His letter to Persons, written in 1582, begins with the following words, which refer to the execution of several Catholic priests, and especially of Campion : "I am so glad to hear how well ours have comported themselves, especially he with whom you departed [Father Campion]... He has had the start of you in loading his vessel with English wares, and has successfully returned to the desired port."¹ At one time, according to one of his biographers, he "had nourished for some years, a desire to set out for the Indies or other barbarous lands, but after he had seen that there was a more certain chance of shedding his blood for Christ in his own country, his whole mind was constantly bent towards this, and he solicited the mission with many prayers and sighs."² As early as January 23rd, 1585, in a letter to the Father General, he declared himself ready to start for England.³ In the course of the following months, the sending of Father Henry Garnet, who was to be his companion, was contemplated, and then put off.⁴

Finally, it was decided early in 1586 that both Jesuits should leave. On March 24th, instructions were issued for them : Garnet was to be superior during the journey, but Southwell was to be his confessor and

¹ *Cath. Rec. Soc.* vol. 5, pp. 301-302. Fr. Pollen's translation.

² TANNER, *Societas Jesu... militans*, p. 33, col. 2 : "Foverat quidem animo Robertus aliquot annis... desideria proficiscendi ad Indos et Barbaros, sed postquam in Patria sua certiore fundendi pro Christo sanguinis occasionem vidit, continuè toto animo illud propendens, magnis votis & suspirijs eam missionem exambijt." Cf. Brussels MS. of *Exercitia et devotiones*, fol. 39 a : "Considera quanta in religioso Societatis requiratur perfectio, qui semper omnique momento paratus esse debet in quamvis mundi plagam, et quaecumque hominum genera proficisci. Cum enim sint Haeretici, Turcae, pagani, Tartari &c..."

³ The letter is printed in MORE, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

⁴ Stonyhurst MSS, *Collectanea P.* p. 304, letter of Persons to Agazzari, St. Omers, 12 July 1585 : "Del P. Garnetto ho scritto a N. Padre; io spero che N. P. ci lo dara in Settembre." General Archives S. J. *Flandria, Ep. gen.* F. 83 v. The Father General to Persons, 12 July 1585 : "Porro de P. Henrico Garneto erit nobis diligentissime cogitandum; nam ut omittam aliquam hic esse ejus necessitatem (haec enim facile praeterhabere Solemus utilitatibus Angliae), nonnullae etiam occurrunt rationes quibus hunc Patrem aptiorem vitae quietae, quam illi vagae ac semper sollicitae quae in Anglia vivenda est judicemur."

director. Both were granted extensive faculties for their religious work. They were allowed to handle money in England and to distribute it to the needy. Permission was also given "for some small books, written for the defence of the faith and the edification of Catholics, to be printed subject to the judgment of Father William Weston," whom the two Jesuits were to find in England and who was to be their superior.⁵

On St. Michael's day, May 8th, 1586, Garnet and Southwell, accompanied by one William, possibly a servant, set out for their perilous journey across the countries of Western Europe, then torn about by the wars of religion. Father Persons accompanied them to the "pons Milvius," and Southwell, "wishing his friend good bye, pointedly said that Garnet and himself were two arrows shot at the same target."⁶

The travellers were riding horses, but were only able to proceed by slow stages, halting at Jesuit houses on the way. After crossing the Apennines they stopped for some time at the college at Modena, where they picked up two English priests, Meredith and Shaw, who joined their party and went on with them to Parma and to the college at Piacenza, where they again halted for a time. They reached the college of Brera at Milan on Whitsunday, May 25th, and were warmly welcomed there by the fathers of the Society. The mount of "William" was wounded, and a pack-horse had had a sore back since Loretto, and departure was put off till Tuesday, May 27th, when the travellers meant to leave for Como.⁷ From now on the course of their journey becomes doubtful. Yet it seems most likely that from Como they went on to Bellinzona, crossed the Alps over the St. Gothard, and by way of Lucerne, Bâle, Saint Dizier, Châlons, reached the English college at Rheims.

The next we hear of the two missionaries is their arrival at Douay at the end of June. Southwell put up at Anchin College, and met Deckers there; he left to him a sum of money to be afterwards used according to his directions, that is to say for the benefit of such Englishmen as he might send to the Continent for a Catholic education.⁸

⁵ Stonyhurst MSS Anglia A. V.2, Transcript in Jesuit house, Farm Street, London : "Permittitur ut parvi aliqui libelli ad respondendum pro defensione fidei et Catholicorum aedificatione, imprimi possint iudicio P. Guglielmi Westoni."

⁶ MORE, *op. cit.*, P. 182 : "Et erant hi (quemadmodum noster hic *Robertus* tum *Personio* in ponte Miluio valedicens non laeva mente dicebat) *duae sagittae ad eandem metam missae...*"

⁷ The particulars of the journey from Rome to Milan are supplied by the letter from Southwell to Agazario, dated Milan, May 26th. 1586, and printed in *Cath. Rec. Soc.* vol. V, pp. 306-307.

⁸ These particulars are to be gathered from the letter of Southwell to Deckers dated St. Omers July 2nd, 1586 : "Depositum meum servet fideliter [Vestra Reverentia]. Forte enim mihi ipsi usui erit, ideoque nulli quicquam distribuat donec alias dederò litteras."

Proceeding to the English Jesuit college at St. Omers, he immediately wrote from there to his friend, on July 2nd. In this letter he repeatedly expresses the wish that no news of his passage and that of his friend should be allowed to spread abroad. The cities of Flanders were swarming with English spies, and the danger of false friends was a perpetual cause of anxiety for the Catholic refugees. Southwell insists that "no English people should know where we are, or that we were there (at Douay)... If by any chance the English people there know of our coming to you, let our present place of abode be concealed from them at any rate; if they already know about it, let the cause of our journey be kept secret."⁹

It was indeed no easy undertaking to cross over into England, where all ports were carefully guarded and a close watch kept over all the shipping. The Jesuit staff at Rome had anticipated the difficulties to be met with, and thought that the two missionaries would have to stay in St. Omers for some length of time before a favourable opportunity arose; but Southwell was not to be delayed, and even before instructions for his reception had reached Flanders,¹⁰ he had already left the safe harbour of the Spanish provinces, and made his way into the "Pale." On July the 15th Garnet and he were in Calais, and preparing for the dangers which might confront them even before they set foot on English soil. Just before starting upon his expedition, Southwell wrote to Deckers the well-known letter "e portu," which deserves to be again quoted here: "Being now exposed to the utmost dangers, I address you, my Father, from the threshold of death, imploring the aid of your prayers that, as once you re-awakened in me the breath of life when I was ready to die, so now by your prayers I may either escape the death of the body for further use, or endure it with courage. I am sent indeed into the midst of wolves, would that it were as a sheep to be led to the slaughter, in the name of and for Him who sends. Truly, I well know that many with open mouths stand gaping for me, both on sea and land, not as wolves only, but as lions that go about seeking whom they may devour, whose fangs I less fear than desire them; nor do I so much dread tortures, as look forward to the crown."¹¹

(Brussels, Archives du Royaume, arch. jésuitiques, Flandro-Belgae N° 1529). Fr. Deckers was then one of the professors at Anchin College, the rector of which was Fr. Jean de la Haye, also called Servius, to whom Southwell sends greetings in the same letter.

⁹ *Ibid.* "Quaeso interim ne resciscant Angli ubi simus vel quod ibi fuerimus... Si forte Angli de nostro ad vos adventu resciverint, celetur saltem ubi jam sumus, quod si et hoc jam noverint, dissimuletur causa."

¹⁰ Cf. two letters of the Father General to Father Costers (the provincial of the Flandro-Belgian province) and to Father Christianus Dalmerius at St. Omers, both dated July 10th, 1586, and written as introductions for Southwell (Brussels, Archives du Royaume, Arch. Jes. Cart. Varia 20 etc. ep. Gen. Flandro Belg.)

¹¹ We borrow the English translation of his letter, with some alterations, from FOLEY, *Records of the English province S.J.*, p. 319. The Latin original is first found at the

A ship had, it seems, been hired, and just after the evening office of St. Alexis had begun, Garnet and Southwell went on board. At sunrise, they landed between Folkestone and Dover, on the morning of July 17th. Happily for them, the Gregorian calendar had not yet been adopted in England, where July 16th. new style, was still July 7th. old style. That day was the feast of St. Thomas Becket, and though the old religious celebrations had been forbidden by Henry VIII, large fairs were still held throughout Kent; there were crowds coming and going on every road, crowds in every town, amongst which the appearance of strange faces was less likely than usual to attract suspicion. The two Jesuits parted so as to halve the risks of the journey, then striking a highroad went on to London, where they met again on July 18th.¹² The dangers with which Southwell was surrounded were brought home to him most vividly, for as he wrote to the Father General he "met with Catholics first *inter gladios*," amid swords, that is to say, no doubt, being led through the steets by an armed guard.¹³

Besides everything must have been unfamiliar to him in a country which he had left at such an early age. It was necessary for the two Jesuits to obtain information as to the position of Catholicism and the course to be followed, and they boldly resolved to seek directions from one of their brother priests then in captivity. "Having consulted together, they selected the least guarded and most neglected prison, and having repaired there" (at that time the prisoners were not kept as a rule in close confinement) "they opened themselves little by little, and with caution, to a priest, from whom they heard the fortunes of Catholicism, and the names of those in whose houses they might put up with some safety; they were also told of the good work done by

close of Deckers own MS. account of Southwell's martyrdom, *Narratio martyrii B.P. Roberti Sotueli*, General Archives S. J., Anglia 30, fol. 515^{a,b}. It is printed with some variants by More, *op. cit.* p. 182; also by ALEGAMBE, *Mortes illustres*, p. 184; TANNER, *op. cit.*, p. 33, col. 2 and 34, col. 1; JUVENCIUS, *Historia S. J.*, pars quinta, p. 133. Though the latter writer is the only one to state that the letter was sent to Deckers, the point seems beyond doubt for the following reasons: Southwell had promised to write to Deckers *e portu* (in the letter from St. Omers quoted above.) Deckers had the letter *e portu* in his possession and made it public; and it contains a transparent allusion to the part he played in Southwell's vocation. The date in Deckers' MS. and all printed texts is July 15th, though More it as July 25th.

¹² All these particulars are from BARTOLI, *op. cit.*, (Latin edition by Ludovicus Ianinus) p. 281; Bartoli mistakenly states that July 16th, N. S. was July 7th O. S. and thus concludes that Southwell arrived in England on the former date. But the eve of St. Alexis was July 16th and thus Southwell must have arrived on July 17th N. S., which in fact corresponds in the O. S. to July 7th, the feast of the translation of St. Thomas.

¹³ Letter of Southwell to Fr. General Claude Aquaviva, 25th July, 1586, *Cath. Rec. Soc.* vol V, p. 308. Southwell having arrived in London on July 18th, there is no necessity to surmise, as Fr. Pollen did, that the letter was dated according to the old style, and written on Aug. 4th, new style.

father Weston, which news filled their hearts with joy, and informed that the said father either was already in London, or would be there shortly."¹⁴

The coming of Southwell was soon made known to Elizabeth and her ministers by a spy¹⁵ but the Jesuit himself was no less aware of the concern with which his arrival in England was viewed in court circles. "The news of our arrival, he wrote to the father General on July 25th, has already got abroad, and from the lips of those who are members of the Queen's council, my name has become known to some."¹⁶ Concealment was necessary, and Southwell had to adopt a disguise which was that for which his birth and education fitted him best, that of a young gentleman of fashion. He found it difficult, however, to join in current conversation with persons of the same class; for, in the words of another Jesuit missionary, Fr John Gerard, "they talk obscenity, or break out into blasphemies and abuse of the Saints or the Catholic faith." So he had to fall back upon sporting topics, "horses, hounds and such like," and especially falconry. For this his college life was no adequate preparation, and he had to seek instruction at the hands of Fr. Gerard, who had landed in England some time after him; despite which he "used to complain of his bad memory."¹⁷

* * * * *

There was indeed something humorous and sportsmanlike about the devices which Southwell and his fellow-missioners used, with varying success but which unfailing cheerfulness and heroism, to slip through the meshes of the net which was being woven around them. But however real the adventurous, romantic side of their experiences, they had to deal with the hard facts of everyday life, and to conduct under persecution the work of Catholic organization. Searches by pursuivants and hair-breadth escapes were, however frequent and thrilling, only incidents in a life of well-ordered activity, which bore definite relations to the spirit, manners and art of the times. To understand the nature

¹⁴ BARTOLI, *op. cit.*, p. 281 "Statuere inter se de carcere quem adirent minus observato magisque neglecto vbi ex Sacerdote cui se paulatim ac cautè crediderant de cursu rei Catholicae cognouerunt, de iis apud quos possent metu minori divertere, quodque illis fuit intimae voluptati, de P. Westoni fructuosissima opera...iamque Illum aut Londini esse, aut propediem adfuturum."

¹⁵ State papers, *Dom Eliz* vol. CXCII n. 35. The information supplied by the spy was not very accurate, since he mentioned the landing of Southwell and another Jesuit on the coast of Suffolk and Norfolk...

The paper is reprinted in Foley, *op. cit.*, p. 319 n, and in Christobel M. Hood, *The book of Robert Southwell*, p. 14.

¹⁶ *Cath. Rec. Soc.* vol. 5, p. 308.

¹⁷ *Life of Father John Gerard*, ed, by John MORRIS S. J., 1881, p. 43. Cf. also Stonyhurst Ms., Grene's collectanea N1 p. 37 (Transcript at Jesuit house, Farm Street, London); and John MORRIS, *The condition of Catholics under James I*, pp. xxiii-xxiv.

of that activity, and especially the condition and possibilities of Southwell's literary work, we must know the place which the Jesuit missionaries occupied in English society at large.

First of all, there was an essential difference between Protestant and especially Puritan propaganda on the one hand and Catholic propaganda on the other. The former was largely at work among the lower middle classes and the common people; it owed the success of its appeal to popular instincts and passions. The latter on the contrary was not conducted in holes and corners and backshops. The Jesuit missionary resided as a rule in the house of some member of the nobility or gentry, whose town or country seat was converted into a religious centre for the family and its dependents. He not only held the position of a highly-respected domestic chaplain; he also acted as a director of conscience to the whole household, for whom he prescribed rules of life according to the spirit of his order.¹⁸ In other words the Jesuits worked in England as well as in other countries, not from below but from above. They attempted to make use of the influence of families of a high social rank; nor were they in so doing untrue to a more particularly English tradition. Ever since the time of the breach with Rome, the English Catholics had staked the retrieval of their fortunes upon a change in the crown, or the action of the great; they shared in the king-worship of the sixteenth century; the compelling power of popular pressure they seem to have ignored. For such reasons was the fate of Catholic missionaries, and notably of such among them as were men of letters, unavoidably bound up with that of the aristocracy. They moved about in the world of fortune and fashion. The fact should be kept in mind, as it has a direct bearing upon the nature of Southwell's productions, and in his case it can be proved beyond a doubt.

No sooner had the young Jesuit and his companion arrived in London than the news was brought to Father Weston himself. He forthwith "hastened to the inn" where they had put up, to pay them a visit. "We saluted, he says, and embraced each other and in that same place we dined together. On the following day (as there was no safe place in London either in the way of inns or private houses) we left the city and travelled nearly ten leagues till we came to the house of a Catholic gentleman and an intimate friend of mine. "There they met with a "loving and devout" reception. Their host had "in former times been devoted to the court and courtiers as chamberlain... to the earl of Leicester, who was then in full power. At all events he was one of his special favourites singularly high in his estimation; but he grew tired

¹⁸ In this respect Father John Gerard's autobiography, publ. by J. MORRIS S. J. (*The life of father John Gerard*, 1881) is quite illuminating. Cf. notably pp. xxxii-xxxiii and especially p. clv, (the Digby household) p. cxlviii (conversion of Sir Oliver Manners).

of that life when still young, and having some idea of Catholic truth, and knowing how contrary such worldliness and moral corruption must be to the sincerity and purity of life commanded by the Faith, he made up his mind to break from it all, and forsake the court, and look out for some place and manner of life more remote from that secular splendour and less obnoxious to the temptations of sin." At the risk of displeasing the earl he chose to live in a country seat where he might more safely give shelter to Catholics.¹⁹ His case is a typical instance of that reaction against Elizabethan "atheism" in which Southwell was to play a prominent part.

He did not, however, spend a long time with father Weston's friend. We soon find him, still in the company of Garnet, in a noble house at Hackney. He had an introduction to the head of the family, baron Vaux of Harrowden, from Persons, who had brought him back to the Catholic faith. There he remained in concealment, but only for the space of a few months. An opportunity for more permanent, stable and useful work had meanwhile occurred. A place was left open by the arrest of Fr. William Weston, who was imprisoned on account of the Babington Plot in August 1586.²¹ Weston had till then lived as a chaplain in the house of Philip Howard, earl of Arundel, and of the countess his wife. The earl "was born to the highest hereditary dignity in the land after the crown,"²² and had played a prominent part in court life and political affairs during the first few years of Elizabeth's reign. He had in his veins some of the noblest blood in the history of English letters, being grandson to Henry Howard, earl of Surrey, the poet who had been beheaded in 1547. His father, Thomas Howard, third duke of Norfolk, became involved in Ridolfi's plotting in favour of Mary Stuart, was sentenced to death and executed on June 2nd, 1572. His mother belonged to the family of the Arundels. His own chequered life shows how formidable the Catholic revival among the aristocracy appeared to Elizabeth's protestant ministers of state. The Catholic missionaries had indeed some justification in attempting

¹⁹ All the above particulars and quotations from father Weston's own account of his adventures, in J. MORRIS, *Troubles of our Catholic forefathers*, vol. II, pp. 138-139. The "gentleman" here mentioned is supposed by Fr MORRIS to have been a Mr. Bold who lived in Berkshire, and may be the same as one Bolt, a friend of Byrd, the master of the Chapel royal.

²⁰ MORE, *op. cit.*, p. 184, § xx. Bartoli, *op. cit.*, p. 351, where the head of the family is described as "Baro Auxenis."

²¹ *Cath. Rec. Soc.*, vol. xxi, p. 319. MORE says (*op. cit.*, p. 184) "Demortuo deinde Sacerdote quo duce conscientiae Comitissa de Arondel utebatur." This may be a mistake, or else it refers to some other priest than Fr. William WESTON.

²² C. R. S., vol. xxi, p. v. This vol. of the C. R. S. *publications* is a full collection of all the documents available for the biography of Philip Howard. Some of the particulars given here are borrowed from the article in *D. N. B.*, thin paper ed., vol. x, pp. 52-53, art. by Mandell CREIGHTON.

first and foremost to gain over the heads of the nobility, who might eventually obtain control of the government, and carry the whole country along with them.

After a youth in which Catholic and Protestant influence had been at strife, Philip Howard had appeared at court, where for five or six years he behaved with the extravagant loyalty of the queen-worshippers of the period, and used every means in his power to become a royal favourite. He exchanged presents with Elizabeth, and entertained her sumptuously in his house at Kenninghall in August, 1578. He was especially conspicuous in tournaments and court-pageants, and appeared in one of these as late as May 15th-16th, 1581.²³ Knowing the queen's aversion to married courtiers he neglected his wife and left her in the country, a sin which he afterwards bitterly repented. Yet he did not succeed in gaining Elizabeth's confidence. His failure to do so turned his mind to more serious thoughts; and his religious earnestness became strengthened when, as a consequence of his father-in-law's death, he inherited the earldom of Arundel, together with added responsibilities.²⁴ His wife was a devout catholic, and her influence now made itself felt. In the summer of 1581, he was present at the trial of Edmund Campion, when a disputation was held between the young Jesuit and Protestant divines; and Campion's answers are supposed to have made a deep impression upon him.²⁵ From this moment at any rate he was under suspicion. Eventually he took the final step and was received into the Catholic church on September 30th, 1584, by Fr. William Weston.²⁶ Having stated his purely religious motives in a beautiful letter to the queen,²⁷ he attempted to escape, but was captured while at sea on April 14th, 1585, and shut up in the Tower. He was tried in the Star Chamber on May 17th, 1586, and sentenced "to paye for a fyne... tenn thousand pound, &... to remaine prisoner as before at her Majesties pleasure."²⁸ He was again tried before the court of King's Bench on April 14th, 1589, on very flimsy charges, and sentenced to the terrible death of traitors.²⁹ The truth was that Elizabeth's government could not allow a nobleman of such high rank to flout them openly by professing catholicism. However the sentence was not executed, and Philip Howard lingered on in the Tower, where he bore his sufferings patiently, and devoted his enforced leisure to the inditing of devotional poems.

²³ C. R. S., vol. xxi, pp. 21-23.

²⁴ D. N. B., art. cit.

²⁵ C. R. S., vol. xxi, p. 32. Cf. Richard SIMPSON, *Edmund Campion*, p. 369 and n. 319.

²⁶ C. R. S., vol. xxi, p. 96.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 99-106 (prints the letter).

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 144.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 217-302.

Having grown very "faint and weak," he felt his death coming, and petitioned the queen "that... his wife and children should come unto him." The answer was "that if he would once go to their church, his request should not only be granted, he should moreover be restored to his honour and estates with as much favour as she (Elizabeth) could shew." But he rejected the offer, and repeating the words "O Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit," passed away "in a most sweet manner" on October 19th, 1595.³⁰ He also had revolted against the paganism and unbelief which prevailed at court. He is a notable instance of the frequent "conversions" among the aristocracy of Elizabeth's times, conversions, not from Protestantism to Catholicism, but from a life without God to a life with God, from pure worldliness and sensuousness to spirituality. He exactly followed the path marked out in St. Ignatius' exercises, and the fact that he jeopardized a high position at court, all his dignities and wealth and even his life, bears witness to the efficiency of the work done by the Jesuit missionaries in England, few as they were.

Though the earl had been imprisoned before the arrival of Garnet and Southwell, the latter became his director of conscience, as well as that of his wife,³¹ and, we may be sure, of all who were Catholics in the household. He was to retain this position until his own capture. For the space of almost two years he was compelled to live in the utmost secrecy at the house of the countess, presumably Arundel House in the Strand, since Howard House (the Charterhouse) had been seized by the government. The "family,"—relatives, attendants and servants, "was a large one, composed of all sorts of men..., nor was it possible for him therefore to set foot outside his room, nor to take the air, even at his window, unless from afar; nor to share his meals with anyone; nor to eat anything but remnants secretly removed by Catholics or by a few servants of known fidelity." If by any chance necessity arose for his spiritual ministrations outside, he would steal out in disguise, under cover of night. His long leisure hours were devoted to prayer, to the writing of letters and to literary work.³² This was probably the time at which he was called upon by Fr. William Weston. The latter was being transferred from his prison in the Tower to Wisbech castle, and was allowed to visit his friends under escort for two or three days. He managed to bribe his keeper, who

³⁰ *Ibid.* pp. 330-333.

³¹ The question of Southwell's lodgings is discussed in C. R. S. vol. xxi, pp. 319 and 350, where however no account is taken of Bartoli's very definite statement.

³² BARTOLI, *op. cit.*, p. 352 : "Egit illic propre biennio Soutuellus secum solus, haud tamen aliis otiosus... In amplissima familia, et omni conflata hominum generi... nec ergo illi fas, efferre cubiculo pedem, nec auram, etiam de fenestris, nisi procul captare; nec cibum cum quoquam sumere; nec alium quam furtim sublatas mensarum reliquias, quas ad illum Catholici, & pauci fidelitate nota ferebant famuli."

let him call upon the countess of Arundel alone. He was thus able "to obtain... the presence and sight of Father Robert Southwell, and a long interview with him."³³ Afterwards there was a lull in the persecution, and he was able to wander about more freely. He hired a "private house" in London, which he used to receive his superior father Garnet, and where frequent meetings of the Jesuits present in England were held for devotional and practical purposes.³⁴ In that house "he kept a secret printing press whence issued his incomparable works." Father Gerard S. J., saw him there some time after November 1588.⁷

But despite the seeming likeness, there was little in common between the activities of the Jesuit and those, for instance, of the Marprelate writers, who were flooding England with their satirical broadsheets about the same time. Southwell was first and foremost attached and devoted to the person of the earl of Arundel; for him alone he wrote, now letters and now more extensive works; though he afterwards allowed them to get divulged. The earl was kept a close prisoner in the Tower, yet was allowed to carry on a business correspondence with people outside;³⁶ thus was Southwell able to send epistles to him³⁷ and to receive from him a number of answers, fragments of which have been preserved.³⁸ From those documents the nature of his influence clearly appears. He induced Philip Howard to make atonement for the evil deeds of his youth and especially his ill-treatment of his wife. He made him so scrupulous about telling an untruth, that the earl was unwilling to state to his examiners that he had not prayed for the victory of the Armada while though not praying, he had hoped for it in his heart.³⁹ Southwell comforted him especially after he had been sentenced to death, sending to him a long letter on the necessity of constancy and the glories of martyrdom. "Such a death, he wrote, will confirm the wavering, and make the strong even stronger... You whom hitherto neither a long imprisonment, nor the sentence of death, struck with

³³ MORRIS, *Troubles*, vol. II, p. 210..

³⁴ John MORRIS, the life of father John GERARD, 1881, p. 71.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, and *Cath. Rec. Soc.*, vol. XXI, p. 319, where the date and the whole question of the printing-press and its site are discussed.

³⁶ *Cath. Rec. Soc.*, vol. XXI, pp. 319-320.

³⁷ The only epistle extant was in MORE's collection and printed by him in his *Hist. Prov. Angl. S. J.* on pp. 186-188.

³⁸ These fragments are found in an early seventeenth century biography printed in 1857 under the following title : *The lives of Philip Howard, earl of Arundel and of Ann Dacres his wife*, edited by the duke of Norfolk.

³⁹ One of the main charges against the earl was that of having prayed for the victory of the Armada. The documents referring to the charge and his denial of it are reprinted in *Cath. Rec. Soc.* vol. XXI, pp. 230, 231, 232, 271, where the question receives full treatment.

terror, let neither the hope of pardon, nor false-painted promises, soften into compliance. The cause is that of God; the struggle is brief, the reward is eternal."⁴⁰

And the earl on his own part, when he thought death near at hand, expressed his gratefulness to his director in the following words: "My dear and R^d father. This being the last time that I think I shall ever send unto you, I should be very ungratefull if, wanting all other means of expressing my thankfulness I should not now at least acknowledg it in words; and as I must needs say, I could not be more bound to any man, nor to any but one of your calling so much (a reference to Fr Weston) and all this in a time when such comforts were most wellcome, and even to the benefit of that which in all men is most pretious; so in heart, our Lord who sees all secrets, sees all my good will and thankfullness, and I doubt not will reward you amongst all your other worthy merits, for these bestowed on me his most unworthy servant, and in as much thankfulness and good will as my heart can conceive, I remain yours till the last moment."⁴¹ "The earl's regard for Southwell's religious advice was such that speaking of him, he wrote to his wife: "Assure him from me that I will not for any worldly respect whatsoever, God willing, go one inch farther than he doth direct."⁴² At the same time, the importance of Southwell's connection with the Arundels, especially in regard to his literary work, cannot be overestimated.

* * * * *

The missionary priests however, and especially the Jesuits, were only a few units—six of them only at liberty in July 1586, shortly after Southwell's arrival—scattered among a population still largely Catholic at heart.⁴³ They had to be unusually active in order to make up for their small numbers, and they were found constantly on the move. Southwell himself, though to some extent tied down by his duties as a private chaplain, took his willing share in the pastoral work of his fellow-priests, and made frequent excursions into the counties.⁴⁴ "The Catholics, he writes to the father general a few months after his arrival, suffer a sacred hunger, and seek with great instance to approach

⁴⁰ MORE, *op. cit.*, p. 188: "Illa mors firmabit vacillantes, fortes reddet fortiores... Quem hactenus neque carcer diuturnus, neque mortis sententia terruit, non spes veniae, non fucatae promissiones emolliant. Causa Dei est: conflictus brevis, praemium aeternum."

⁴¹ *Lives of Philip Howard etc.*, pp. 134-sqq.

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 137-138.

⁴³ FOLEY, *Records of the English province S. J.*, I, 320.

⁴⁴ Southwell to Aquaviva, 25 Dec. 1586, *Cath. Rec. Soc.*, vol. V, pp. 310 and 313. Fr. Pollen's translation.

the sacraments; nay, they must perforce abstain..."⁴⁵ and therefore, he adds, "I earnestly do beg your Paternity to have sent to us those faculties we sought for, especially to consecrate chalices and superaltars. Of this there is very great need, for that by reason of these long searchings of houses, many such things have fallen into the hands of the pursuivants, so we are in great want. Of a truth the one remaining solace of the Catholics amid all this trouble and turmoil is to refresh themselves with the Bread of Heaven; which if it be taken away, it cannot be but that many will faint and grow feeble, whose piety and constancy was heretofore nourished and increased at this table. We forgot, when we were leaving, to ask this faculty of master Allen, until we might have it from other sources; which we much regret."⁴⁶ The request for faculties is insistent in Southwell's letters to Rome: "It would be, he writes to his friend Persons, a great boon and meet a great want, if the Pope would give us faculties... to bless 2.000 rosaries and 6.000 grains, for here all are asking for such objects, and we are unable to gratify them."⁴⁷

The giving of communion and the blessing of holy objects may have been wrapt up in comparative secrecy; but other pastoral duties were of a much more public nature, and one wonders how they may have been performed at all. The only possible explanation is that a very large section of the people were conniving at the efforts of the priests, and frustrating those of the government. "I am devoting myself, Southwell writes ten days only after his landing in England, to sermons, to hearing confessions and other priestly duties."⁴⁸ No doubt he shared in the sublime imprudence of Campion, and the father General had to warn him that he should "take the greatest care of his health and freedom, and never be so keen on profits as to lose reckoning of his own safety."⁴⁹ In no case was Catholic worship conducted in a more surprisingly public and daring way, than on the occasion of those meetings, in which the Jesuits present in England sought spiritual comfort at one another's hands. One such meeting took place shortly after Southwell's arrival in England, when he says: "after making our confession as usual, we renewed our vows with no great ceremony indeed but with the greatest consolation. If all had fallen out according to our pleasure, we should have sung Mass with all solemnity accom-

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 311 and 313. Same translation.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 312 and 314. Same translation.

⁴⁷ Southwell to Agazario, 22 Déc. 1586, *ibid.*, pp. 317 and 319. Same translation.

⁴⁸ Southwell to Aquaviva, 25 July 1886. *Cath. Rec. Soc.*, vol. V, p. 309. Father Pollen's translation. Cf. also *ibid.*, p. 318, Southwell's letter to Fr Agazario, rector of the English College, Rome, in which he writes: "Preachers are here in great request."

⁴⁹ Aquaviva to Southwell, 20 February 1587 *Ibid* pp. 318 and 321. Same translation.

anied by choice instrumental and vocal music, on the very feast of St. Mary Magdalen (22 July)."⁵⁰

The Jesuits were much strengthened in their faith and constancy by thus joining in prayer and renewing their vows together : "We all met in the last few days, Garnet wrote to the father General in 1590...; our work and the difficulties of the times keep us very much apart, and your Domination will imagine what joy we may derive from the mere sight of one another."⁵¹ Southwell refers to the same meeting in the following words : "We all together, to our great joy, renewed our old bond according to our custom, and spending a few days in mutual exhortation and conference 'we opened out our mouths and drew in the Spirit'.⁵² As for me, I seemed to be beholding the cradle of the new-born Society of Jesus in England, the seeds of which we now sow in tears, that other may come and beat the sheaves."⁵³ Yet we sang the canticle of the Lord in a strange land, and in this desert we sucked honey from the rock and oil from the hardest stone." But the missionaries were seldom left to the untroubled enjoyment of spiritual communion : "*Extrema hujus gaudii luctus occupavit*, Southwell adds after the above-quoted passage, the end of our joy was turned to sorrow. Sudden fears dispersed us, and in the end we escaped with more danger than hurt. I myself and another one of ours, seeking to avoid Scilla fell into Charybdis, yet being carried past either reef by a notable instance of God's mercy, we are now afloat in a safe harbour."⁵⁴

As early as the latter part of 1586, Southwell had had experience of that searching of Catholic houses by pursuivants, which made it necessary to provide hiding-holes for priests and other suspected persons "Twice, he writes, I was in extreme danger. The pursuivants were raging all around, and seeking me in the very house in which I was lodged. I heard them threatening and breaking woodwork and sounding the walls to find hiding-places; yet, by God's goodness after four hours' search they found me not, though separated from them only by a thin partition rather than a wall. Of a truth the house was in such

⁵⁰ Southwell to Aquaviva, 25 July 1586. *Ibid.*, p. 308. Same translation.

⁵¹ In vol. of transcripts at Jesuit house, Farm Street, London, entitled *Father Garnet's letters*, vol. 1 (numbered 48). p. 22 (Stonyhurst MSS., Collectanea P, p. 555) "Convenimus hisce diebus omnes..., cum nos et negotiorum ratio et temporum adeo disjunctos teneat, cogitari poterit vestra dominatio quanto nos gaudio afficere debeat vel mutuus aspectus."

⁵² Ps cxviii, 131 (Vulgate).

⁵³ Ps. cxxv, 5 (Vulgate).

⁵⁴ The passage is from a letter from Southwell to Aquaviva, March 8th 1590, Latin text in *Cath. Rec. Soc.*, vol. v, p. 330. Quotation from Deut xxxii, 13.

Translated by FOLEY, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 325, though inaccurately, "nascentis in Anglia Societatis incunabula" being rendered as "the cradle of the Catholic religion which is now to be born in England."

sort watched for many nights together that I perforce slept in my clothes in a very strait, uncomfortable place. In this wise, while we are yet free, we are trained to bear confinement. Yet in the midst of perils it is marvellous how good God is, and how bountiful of His comforts, insomuch that danger itself groweth sweet.”⁵⁵ Southwell had another narrow escape on October 15th-18th, 1591, when all the Jesuits present in England had gathered at the house of the ladies Vaux in Warwickshire, for the “renovation of the spirit,” together with some other priests and laymen. On the last day of the meeting, “about five o’clock, father Gerard writes, when Father Southwell was beginning mass, and the others and myself were at meditation, I heard a bustle at the house-door. Directly after I heard cries and oaths poured forth against the servant for refusing admittance. The fact was that four priest-hunters, or pursuivants as they are called, with drawn swords, were trying to break down the door and force an entrance. The faithful servant withstood them, otherwise we should have all been made prisoners. But by this time Father Southwell had heard the uproar and, guessing what it meant, had at once taken off his vestments and stripped the altar: while we strove to seek out everything belonging to us, so that there might be nothing found to betray the lurking of a priest. We did not even wish to leave boots and swords lying about, which would serve to show there had been many guests, though none of them appeared. Hence many of us were anxious about our beds, which were still warm, and only covered according to custom previous to being made. Some, therefore, went and turned their beds over, so that the colder part might deceive any body who put his hand in to feel. Thus while the enemy was shouting and bawling outside, and our servants were keeping the door, saying that the mistress of the house, a widow, had not yet got up, but that she was coming directly and would give them an answer, we profited by the delay to stow away ourselves and all our baggage in a cleverly contrived hiding-place.

“At last these four leopards were let in. They raged about the house, looking everywhere, and prying into the darkest corners with candles. They took four hours over the business, but failed in their search, and only brought out the forbearance of the Catholics in suffering, and their own spite and obstinacy in seeking. At last they took themselves off, after getting paid, forsooth, for their trouble. So pitiful is the lot of the Catholics, that those who come with a warrant to annoy them, in this or in other ways, have to be paid for do doing by the suffering party instead of by the authorities who send them, as though it were not enough to endure wrong, but they must also pay for their endurance of it. When they were gone, and were now some

⁵⁵ *Cath. Rec. Soc.* pp. 310 and 313 Fr Pollen’s translation.

way off, so that there was no fear of their returning as they sometimes do, that lady came and summoned out of the den, not one, but many Daniels. The hiding-place was underground, covered with water at the bottom, so that I was standing with my feet in water all the time."⁵⁶

At another time "a pursuivant, having got sight of Father Robert, was not content with that exceptional prey, but in hopes of making a more ample catch wished to find out the house in which he would take shelter : so he followed him for a long time. But the father, though unaware of the chase, walked even faster than was his wont, so that the pursuivant had to let him vanish out of his sight and instead of being praised and rewarded, was severely rebuked by Walsingham."⁵⁷ While the steps of Southwell were thus perpetually being dogged, it must have required all the strength of mind derived from absolute trust and hope in God for him to retain his composure and serenity, and be able to indulge in elaborate literary composition. The danger of false friends must have been particularly trying and unnerving in the long run. We hear that a faint-hearted priest, Anthony Tyrrell, who betrayed his faith and his brethren as often as he fell into the hands of the government, "haunted greatly to spy out father Southwell and father Garnet."⁵⁸ Add that the Jesuit missionaries were living to some extent in moral isolation, at least as regards their relations with the head and main seat of their order at Rome. "We have received fewer letters from you than we have sent to you, Southwell writes to the Father General on January 16th, 1590, and yet we can scarcely forward our own letters safely, and we know for certain that some of them have been lost."⁵⁹

Thus were Southwell's years in England spent in the heart of dangers which gradually closed in around him as the years passed and the persecution grew fiercer. After the Armada the shadows thickened even more. "I am living, he writes on March 8th, 1590, and daily moving about in the very mouth of Hell, where it is almost impossible for one to stay without being forthwith devoured. As yet, however — such is God's kindness — I walk in freedom and without chains though

⁵⁶ *The life of Father John Gerard S. J.*, ed. by John MORRIS, 1881, pp. 108-sqq.

⁵⁷ Fr Garnet to the Fr General, March 17, 1593. Stonyhurst MSS, Anglia I, 73, transcript at Farm Street, London, *Father Garnet's letters*, vol. I. (1589-1605) p. 53 : "Nonne illud Dei numen indicat, Proditorem quemdam aliquando D. Robertum nostrum conspicatum, dum non contentus esset illa singulari praeda, nisi etiam domum in quam se reciperet perspiceret spe praedae amplioris, inscientem illum diu persecutum, donec cum celeritate eundi qua semper utitur superantem sese, e conspectu evolare permitteret, atque ita loco laudis et praemii a Walsingamo acriter reprehensum."

⁵⁸ *Troubles of our Catholic forefathers*, ed. by John MORRIS, S. J. vol. II, pp. 421, 429. (The fall of Anthony Tyrrell).

⁵⁹ Latin text in *Cath. Rec. Soc.* vol V, p. 329.

in darkness and in the shadow of death.”⁶⁰ Martyrdom was constantly present before his mind, and his soul remained tuned up to a pitch of moral elevation and greatness which common souls seldom reach for a few brief moments. “We live on, he wrote as early as December 22nd, 1586, in the midst of storms, but with little security for the body. Yet, if they do carry us off, they will only be taking us to life and to rest. Even in shipwreck we shall be blessed. While we live we conquer, nor shall we be less victorious if we die; because, he adds, quoting the words which were to serve as a text for his dying speech, *sive vivimus, sive morimur, Domini sumus* — whether we live or whether we die, we are the Lord’s.”⁶¹ And again, on January 16th, 1590 : “Our people when in chains enjoy their prisons and rejoice in them, when set free do not care much for their liberty nor deem it likely to be long. All of them, God be thanked, strengthen their souls in advance for the hardest fate, being more concerned about the only glory of God and the salvation of souls than about the loss of their bodies and goods.”⁶²

Later in the same year, on March 8th, he relates to the father General the trial and execution of a priest named Christopher Bales. The details look like a prefiguration of his own last moments; for in those matters there was a curious discipline, and humbleness manifested itself even in refraining from anything self-assertive or original in the hour of death. While being drawn to the place of execution on a hurdle, the martyr kept singing psalms. After ascending the gallows he addressed the onlookers : “Far be it from me, he said, to take pride if not in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ. Would that as you see my body, you might see the inmost feelings of my heart, and the fate that is in store for my soul; for then surely you would no less share in my sufferings and in my joy, than you now utter curses with angry minds. I forgive all men from my heart, and beg the forgiveness of all.” Then having asked all Catholics to pray for him, he himself fell deep into prayer, and soon after suffered death with perfect composure of face and mind. “We also, Southwell adds at the end of this relation, expect, like hired workmen, unless we be unworthy of such honour, our pay-day that is to come.”⁶³

* * * * *

The same mingling of passionate, unearthly love and practical wisdom that is found in Southwell’s poems is no less noticeable in his life. The management of Catholic affairs needed a capable man, and

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 332.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 315 and 317, Fr J. H. Pollen’s translation.

⁶² Latin text *ibid.*, p. 329.

⁶³ *Cath. Rec. Soc.*, vol. v, pp. 331-332 (Latin text).

such he appears to us in the light of contemporary documents. No mistake should, however, be made as to the nature of the business which he transacted. He confined himself strictly to the task of Church administration and to the support of purely religious activities. He never took part in political scheming of any kind : his noble soul appears as absolutely spotless in that respect. He was doubly disinclined from plots against the government : first because he distrusted purely human, non-spiritual means, and was averse to anything low or under-hand; and secondly because he very simply and very deeply loved his country. His patriotism appears where it may least be doubted, in a report on the sufferings of Catholics sent to the father general Claude Aquaviva at Rome, on August 31st, 1588, while the Armada was still threatening the shores of England : "As I began to write, he says, about the cruel slaughter of our last Martyrs, I felt uncertain whether it was better to confine to home my lament over our domestic calamity, or to impart to other nations the inward sorrow we here alone endure... I feared much lest the recital of [the oppressors'] impious conduct should bring more hatred on the English name than the constancy of our Martyrs would win for it praise." And again as a conclusion : "The constancy of the Catholics is such as is always admired in a people naturally inclined to piety, but the fury and cruelty of the enemy is not to be regarded as a disgrace on the nation, but as the outcome of the pestilent heresy which does violence not only to religion but to the laws and restraints of nature."⁶⁴

No slur would indeed be cast upon the memory of Southwell, had he sacrificed his love of his own country to the superior interest of united Christendom. Patriotism should not be made into a universal standard of moral values, nor should it be forgotten that the notion of Western Europe as an undivided spiritual unit was then much less remote from men's minds than it has become with the lapse of centuries. However there is not the faintest reason to think that Southwell's devotion to the Church meant for him disloyalty towards the English nation, or even towards the government of Queen Elizabeth. He made no mystery of his opinion of the Babington Plot. On December 21st, 1586, writing to the father general, he says that persecution is now flaming more fiercely than ever : "The occasion for this outburst was given by the men who set on foot that wicked and ill-fated conspiracy, which did to the Catholic cause so great mischief, that even our enemies, had they had the choice, could never have chosen aught so mischievous to us or more to their mind." And his resolve to remain on purely religious ground is clear from the conclusion of another letter : "About

⁶⁴ *Cath. Rec. Soc.*, vol. v, pp. 321 and 324-5 (Latin text), 325 and 328 (Fr. J. H. Pollen's translation, here reproduced).

Parliament I say nothing, as I desire my letters, like my soul, to have absolutely nothing to do with matters of state.”⁶⁵

But while he wisely refrained from meddling in political affairs of any kind, he provided for the material and spiritual needs of many among the English Catholics and played a prominent part both as a helper and a guide. We have seen that when coming from Rome, he had brought a sum of money with him to Douay. In England funds were placed at his disposal by the countess of Arundel, owing to whose liberality he was able to give financial help to poor Catholics⁶⁶ and especially to poor priests.⁶⁷ However his main concern must have been to ensure the recruiting of the Catholic clergy, and therefore the Catholic education abroad of young Englishmen likely to become priests. Of such concern we find traces in letters written in 1590 and 1591 by Henry Walpole, the English Jesuit, who then resided at Brussels. A cousin of his, Edward Walpole, before starting for Rome where he was to prepare for the priesthood, left a deposit of one hundred pounds to Southwell, who undertook to pay out to him an annuity of at least forty marks, thus proving that he had means of conveying money abroad, or at least that he had some system of credit at his disposal.⁶⁸

Southwell was naturally anxious to spot out likely subjects for admission into his own order. On one occasion his friend and fellow-Jesuit John Gerard gave a retreat to the two brothers Thomas and John Wiseman. “One of them, Gerard writes, was so prudent and grave in his bearing, that father Southwell said to me, at a time when the young man himself had never dreamt of changing his state, that if he had a vocation to our body none would be so fit for government as he.”⁶⁹ As a matter of fact, both brothers left for Rome after their

⁶⁵ *Cath. Rec. Soc.*, vol. v, pp. 311 and 314 Fr. J. H. Pollen's translation.

⁶⁶ MORE, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

⁶⁷ BARTOLI, *op. cit.*, p. 352 : “Comitem nactus liberalissimam, Sacerdotes Catholicos pauperes alebat eius sumptu.”

⁶⁸ Cf. *Letters of Fa. Henry Walpole S. J.* ed. by Augustus JESSOPP, Norwich 1873. Those letters, dated 1590 and 1591, are to the then rector of the Roman College, Fr. Creswell. See letter vi of August 24th, 1590 : “He (Edward Walpole) hath left in Father Southwell's hands a hundred pounds to be made over, and expects an annuity of forty marks or more.” Letter vii of September 6th, 1590 : “He hath hope of exhibition yearly out of England and hath left an hundred pounds in Father Southwell's hands...” Other letters (October 11th, November 7th, 1590 and June 20th, 1591) give further details of the financial arrangements, the sum of one hundred pounds being meant for various purposes. Note the passage in letter X of November 29th, 1590 : “Hart is come to me, one sent by Father Southwell to be admitted coadjutor.” Edward WALPOLE did in fact become a priest. Cf. *C. R. S.*, vol. v, pp. 249-250, where the same is stated by Fr. Henry WALPOLE in examinations of the 3rd and 18th May, 1594.

⁶⁹ Life of Fr. John GERARD, ed by Fr. John MORRIS, 1881, p. 70. What became of John WISEMAN it has not been possible to discover, beyond the general fact that his

retreat. We have already referred to Southwell's interest in his cousin Anthony Copley.⁷⁰ The case is a typical one, because the poet's delicate kindness, his aversion from giving pain, are here strikingly revealed in his correspondence with the young man's mother, Lady Copley. Her son had gone to the English College at Rome on the invitation of Southwell, who had obtained a pension for him; but the discipline of the college proved too much for such a turbulent, unruly spirit as Copley was, and he soon began to fret and tug at his chain. On December 22nd, 1586, Southwell wrote to the rector of the English college, Father Agazario, the following touching words: "Greet too for me my Anthony, whose mother [Catherine Copley] and brother are prisoners of Christ for their religion. The mother earnestly begged me to write to him that he must not think of leaving the College, solemnly adding that she did not know what would become of him if he returned hither. The good lady is not a little distressed, and reduced to such straits that I had to lend her ten pounds. Relying on your kindness, I told the mother that Anthony would be kept at the College without any charge to her, or the seeking any pension from his other relatives and that he should stay there till he had finished his course of studies. I praised him in the old words of praise, which he so well deserved at his first arrival, though, as I afterwards learnt from his mother, he has dimmed that praiseworthiness by his letters, asking to be allowed to leave. It pained me to hear this, but I made the best excuses for him I could, so as to spare fresh sorrow to one in affliction. I hope for the best regarding him: may God convert hope into reality."⁷¹

The same kindness and thoughtfulness are shown in Southwell's visit to Persons' old mother, whom he sought out in order to bring comfort to her in her tribulation; and in his attitude towards an unfortunate man called Pormort, a priest, who had been in difficulties at Rome, had lost his post of prefect of studies at the Swiss College, and had therefore come to the English mission. Southwell "received him on his reaching England with the greatest benignity, fed, supported and clothed him, led him with honour to his own dwelling (which is the highest favour in this persecution) and besides presented him with twenty crowns, procured for him friends of high rank, provided for him the safest hospitality; and later, when taken by the heretics, [he was] very well clothed, with forty crowns in his purse."⁷²

parents' home was open to all missionary priests from the Continent. As for Thomas WISEMAN, after helping them in London in 1592, he went to Rome and joined the Society (Cf. *State papers*, Domestic, Elizabeth, vols. CCXLII, 166; CCXVIII, 68 (1), 103, 111).

⁷⁰ See above, chapt. I.

⁷¹ *Cath. Rec. Soc.*, vol. v, pp. 316 and 318. J. H. Pollen's translation.

⁷² *Ibid.*, vol. v, pp. 189 and 190. Fr. Pollen's translation followed as a rule.

While the position occupied by Southwell allowed him to indulge his natural generosity, his practical kindness gained for him considerable moral influence. It is clear from the testimony of all who knew him, that his position in England was not that of the rank and file among missionaries, but one of exceptional prestige and importance, indeed the position of a spiritual leader. However personally humble, he was fully conscious of the authority to which he was entitled as the mouthpiece of God. Hence no doubt the tone of gentle, yet firm advice, of the letter which he wrote, More says, to a priest who was unable to settle down anywhere permanently, and lost his time in perpetual wanderings.⁷³ On the whole, Southwell's contemporaries, whether friends or foes, all agree that his spiritual ministry was a remarkably efficient one. The government were conscious of the influence which he exerted, and were all along anxious to capture him : "I am informed, he writes on December 22nd, 1586, there is a general report that I am taken; and, he adds with a touch of gentle humour, hearing this while I was yet free, I smiled to think how gratifying that would be for a time unto my foes, until 'having slept their sleep, they should find naught in their hands'."⁷⁴

Later, when Topcliffe, the priest-hunter and torturer, had at length got hold of the Jesuit, he wrote to the Queen words which may indeed be taken at a discount, since the pursuivant was praising his own services, and yet testify to the importance of the capture : "It may please your majesty to consyder that I did never tayke so weightye a man."⁷⁵ Allowance should also be made for rhetorical amplification in Decker's praise of his friend, yet it is noteworthy that according to him "all people, of whatever age or sex, of station high, low or middling, vied with one another in ministering to his needs with their own hands, fell down at his feet, clasped his knees, and urged upon him every possible benefit."⁷⁶ Fr. Gerard expresses himself more simply but no less forcibly when referring to the beginning of his own stay in England : "The good superior, he says, (meaning Garnet), gave us excellent

⁷³ MORE, *op. cit.* pp. 188-189. The writer expostulates in the tone of homely wisdom rather than religious exhortation, and More gives no proof that this piece was really meant for a priest in England though he states that it was one of his "epistolae familiares" now lost.

⁷⁴ *Cath. Rec. Soc.*, vol. v, pp. 310-311 and 313. Father Pollen's translation. The quotation is from Ps. LXXV, 6 (Vulgate).

⁷⁵ British Museum, Lansdowne MS. 72, f. 113. Burghley Papers 1592. Topcliffe to Queen Elizabeth, 26 June 1592. Printed in Christobel M. Hood, *The book of Robert Southwell*, pp. 47-49.

⁷⁶ Deckers' *Narratio Martyrij B.P. Roberti Sotueli*, 1595, general Archives S. J., Anglia 30, p. 514a : "vt suis illi manibus ministrare eius aduolui pedibus prehensare genua, omnique ipsum officiorum genere prosequi omnis aetas, omnis sexus, summi infimi, medii certatim studerent." The passage is reproduced in ALEGAMBE, *Mortes*, p. 186 and TANNER, *op. cit.*, p. 34, col. 2.

instruction as to the method of helping and gaining souls, as did also Father Southwell, who much excelled in that art, being at once prudent, pious, meek, and exceedingly winning."⁷⁷ And Southwell's earliest biographer, Yepes, writing among soon after the Jesuit's martyrdom, states that "he did fruitful work among souls, and converted to our holy faith many principal persons."⁷⁸ On the whole Southwell's spiritual influence may be placed side by side with that of Campion. Both belonged to that group of highly-gifted and highly-spirited young men who by purely religious means, contrived for a time to retrieve the fortunes of the old faith. But the younger Jesuit holds a place of his own, and in his English years, his fast maturing personality calls forth not a little admiration and sympathy.

* * * * *

Southwell's writings, however, are not merely the expression of his own moral temper. The means of expression, the very language which he used, belonged to the period as a whole. One may wonder through what channels the Jesuit, whose youth abroad had been no sufficient initiation to the traditions of English poetry and the fashions of the day, became acquainted with them in the course of his missionary years. The question will be the more easily answered, if one remember that the Catholic aristocracy with whom he was connected, had not as yet been cut off by long spells of persecution from the main stream of English life. Many of them had been educated in the Universities, and had shared in the pleasures of the Court, round which centred most of the literary life of the time. Southwell, though debarred from actually witnessing the public amusements of the Queen, her servants and favourites, was as well acquainted with contemporary fashions as it was possible to be at second hand. That he was kept informed of them through his noble patrons can easily be proved. Meanwhile, there is reason to think that he knew something of the literature of his own time through brother-writers who, though they more or less openly professed Catholicism, were less cramped in their movements than he was.

The names of two of these have been suggested by Fr Herbert Thurston, those of Anthony Copley and Thomas Lodge.⁷⁹ The former had been Southwell's friend and protégé at Rome; and we know that despite his failure to fulfil the hopes of his teachers at the English College, he remained on intimate terms with the Jesuit, when both had

⁷⁷ John MORRIS, *The life of Father John Gerard*, p. 52.

⁷⁸ Diego de YEPES, *Historia particular*, 1599, p. 642 "Hizo notable fruto en las almas y conuirtio a nostra santa Fè muchas personas principales."

⁷⁹ Article in the *Month*, February 1895, *Father Southwell the Euphuist*, pp. 241-243.

severally returned to England. "Yoinge Anto Coplaye *the* most desperayt yowthe *that* lyvethe, *and* sume others, Bee most famileare with Sowthewell," Topcliffe the pursuivant writes to Elizabeth after the poet's arrest on June 26th. 1592.⁸⁰ The two men were strikingly different in temper. Copley was a wayward, hot-headed, uncontrollable scapegrace, and if Topcliffe is to be trusted, not averse from violence. Besides, he was to indulge, after Southwell's death, in fulsome flattery of the Queen, that went far beyond the Jesuit's grave and sober loyalty.⁸¹ Nevertheless his work bears unmistakable traces of Jesuit influence, and is sprinkled with reminiscences of Southwell's poems. It may be supposed, therefore, that their intercourse bore something of a literary character; but whether there was any taking as well as giving on Southwell's part, must remain a matter for conjecture.

The same may be said of Thomas Lodge, for while we have proof that he knew Southwell's works and admired them, it is by no means certain that the Jesuit owed anything to him. His *Truth's Complaint over England* published in 1584 was not doubt a prudently disguised protest against the penal laws.⁸² He was more than once presented for recusancy.⁸³ What is more, he also may have moved about in the Arundel circle, since about 1596, he married one Mrs Aldred, "a Catholic lady, who having been used by the government to slander the imprisoned Earl of Arundel to his wife, was wholly gained over, it seems, by the sweet gentleness of the Countess, and remained ever afterwards her devoted adherent."⁸⁴ Later on, when Lodge had become a physician, he dedicated to the Countess of Arundel a medical text-book which he had composed, entitled *The Poor Man's Talent*; but this was only to be in 1623.⁸⁵ His allusion to Southwell's works occurs in a small book in prose of a devotional nature, published in 1596 with the following title, *Prosopopeia Containing the teares of the holy, blessed, and sanctified Marie, the Mother of God*, of which he was to all likelihood the author.⁸⁶ It is no doubt an imitation of *Mary Magdalens teares*, which together with *Saint Peters complaint* is clearly referred to in the preface *To the Readers*. Lodge, who is attempting to justify himself, in the face of Protestant cavils, for the choice of his subject, says that he is imitating "many holy mens deuocion... For other... haue wept (as *Peter* his apostasie, *Marie* her losse & misse of Christ) their teares

⁸⁰ British Museum, *Lansdowne MS.* 72, f. 113. Printed in Hood, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-48.

⁸¹ Cf. for instance his poem *A fig for Fortune* (1596), Spenser Society reprint, 1883, p. 59.

⁸² Cf. Edmund Gosse, *Seventeenth Century studies*, 1885, p. 12.

⁸³ Fr THURSTON, *Month*, Feb. 1895, p. 241.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸⁵ Gosse, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 34. Cf. also *Dict. Nat. Biogr.*, 1st ed., vol. xxxiv, pp. 60-66, article by Sydney Lee, where greater weight is granted to the argument against Lodge's authorship of the work.

wrought from them either for repent or loue..." A few lines further on, Lodge hints that he regrets having handled profane themes in the past, and has resolved to turn to holier subjects.⁸⁷ This conversion, Fr Thurston suggests, may have been the result of Southwell's exhortations to the men of letters of his time.⁸⁸ All the circumstantial evidence in the present case leads, however, to no certainty.

We are on safer ground when we come to those links with the world of literature and art which Southwell found in the person of his noble patrons and friends. Who these were appears both from the dedications of his works and from biographical sources. He was directly or indirectly in touch with families whose members had held a prominent place in English courtly poetry, under Henry VIII and Mary Tudor, and in the first years of Elizabeth's reign. Soon after his landing in England he found shelter in the Hackney house of William Vaux, third baron Vaux of Harrowden, with whom he could claim distant kinship.⁸⁹ The Baron had, like many other noblemen, given up his connection with the court after Elizabeth's final breach with Catholicism; and he was a great sufferer for his religion, for the sake of which he gradually fell into utter poverty⁹⁰; but his father Thomas Vaux, second baron Vaux of Harrowden (1510-1556) belonged to the same circle as Surrey and Wyatt, and his lyrics were printed along with theirs in *Tottel's miscellany*. It is more than likely that the family tradition had an influence upon Southwell, and accounts for the likeness between his themes and those of the Henrician school.

The next step in Southwell's missionary career—his admission as a chaplain into the home of the Arundels — brought his into touch with a whole circle of families of the highest rank, connected by blood or marriage. In this circle, religious beliefs were by no means settled or unanimous; every shade was found between Catholicism and Protestantism. But adherence to the State Church was generally prompted by motives which had little to do with religion proper; many conformists retained Catholic leanings, and as there was no fundamental difference on matters of faith, kinsmen remained kinsmen, thus making up a chain that reached from the horrors of persecution at one end, to dignities, office and royal favour at the other. By means of such a chain Southwell was able indirectly to approach the court. Besides, he found among his patrons, their friends and relatives, a literary tradition alive. Lord Vaux was not the only one to preserve the memories of the early and middle sixteenth century. Philip Howard,

⁸⁷ LODGE, *Prosopopeia*, reprinted in facsimile in the Hunterian Club ed. of Lodge's complete works, vol. III, 1883. Sig. A5^b of the original ed.

⁸⁸ THURSTON, *op. cit.*, p. 242.

⁸⁹ Cf. genealogical table N° 2 in appendix II below.

⁹⁰ *Dict. Nat. Biogr.*, first ed., vol. LVIII, p. 196, art. by R. C. CHRISTIE.

true to the poetical enthusiasm, if not to the spirit, of his grandfather the Earl of Surrey, was himself a writer of some merit. As early as 1594, "he had written verses,"⁹¹ and his *Letter to the Queen* was composed before Southwell had come back to England.⁹² The *Letter* may have induced Southwell to compose his own epistles to his brother and to his father, which were similarly meant as well for circulation among the public as for private perusal. Again, there is some likeness between the devotional tastes of Southwell and those of his noble patron. The former translated Diego de Estella's *Meditaciones devotissimas del amor de Dios*; the latter was equally fond of the Spanish mystics, since "he used to read the spiritual books of Father Louis de Granada very frequently;"⁹³ and he also turned into English an ascetical treatise, the *Alloquia Jesu Christi ad animam fidelem* of the Carthusian Johann Gerecht (Johannes Justus) of Landsberg.⁹⁴ This work was printed in England, like Southwell's *Epistle of Comfort*, and possibly came out of the same private press.

As for Philip Howard's poetical compositions, they are not devoid of merit; though far inferior to the works of his celebrated grandfather; in his most important poem, *A foure-fold meditation of the foure last things*,⁹⁵ he cannot bear comparison with his Jesuit friend and director; yet some stanzas have a distinctly Southwellian ring, and it has been suggested by Fr Thurston that Southwell himself may have amended and "edited" the poem.⁹⁶ The earl's wife was perhaps even better gifted than her husband, as a graceful little lyric published by Father Thurston seems to show. Anyhow, there certainly was running in the family a literary strain and tradition, with which Southwell must have become familiar almost from the very beginning of his missionary labours.

The Howards were related with another family of literary fame, that of the Sackvilles.⁹⁷ Philip Howard's half-sister, the lady Margaret Howard (1562-1591) had married Robert Sackville, second Earl of Dorset. Here is one of those striking cases in which a devoutly Catholic wife, on whom the Queen's servants cast suspicious glances, was paired with a conforming husband, a state of things which casts much light on

⁹¹ Confession of Father Henry WALPOLE, 13 June, 1594, quoted in C. R. S., vol. XXI, p. 324.

⁹² Cf. C. R. S., vol. XXI, p. 101, where the date is given as April 11th to 14th, 1585.

⁹³ *The lives of Philip Howard... and of Anne Dacres, His wife*, ed. by the duke of NORFOLK, London 1857, p. 106, quoted by C. R. S., vol. XXI, p. 324.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 327.

⁹⁵ See below, Chapt. VI.

⁹⁶ Cf. Fr THURSTON, in the *Month*, Jan. 1896, *Philip earl of Arundel*.

⁹⁷ *Dict. Nat. Biogr.*, 1st ed., vol. I, p. 96, art. Sackville, Robert, by the Rev. H. E. D. BLAKISTON, and pp. 96-100, art. Sackville, Thomas, by Sydney Lee. Cf. also the ed. of Sackville's poems by the Rev. Reginald W. SACKVILLE-WEST.

the true position of the old faith at the time. Robert Sackville himself may have had Protestant leanings, since he had been Ascham's pupil; and his father Thomas Sackville, first Earl of Dorset and Baron Buckhurst, is considered as belonging to the Protestant party. He was related to Anne Boleyn, and sat in judgment as a member of the House of Lords on Thomas Howard, earl of Norfolk, in 1572, and in 1589 on Philip Howard, the half-brother of his own daughter-in-law. And yet, in 1563, he had been engaged in negotiations in Rome in view of a possible reconciliation of Queen Elizabeth to the Catholic Church.⁹⁸ The part he had played in the history of English letters need scarcely be recalled here. The *Myrroure for Magistrates*, in which he wrote the *Induction* and the *Complaint of the duke of Buckingham*, had appeared in 1559, and the tragedy of *Gorboduc*, of which he wrote the last two acts, in 1560. Points of likeness may be found between his classical vein and that of Southwell; but too much should not be made of a general feature of the period. He was not much beyond middle-age, and quite active still, when his son married Margaret Howard. Southwell does not appear to have met the latter, yet he heard about her a great deal, and knew her well enough indirectly to pen his *Triumphs over death* after her untimely end, as a solace to Philip Howard. She certainly was for him another link with the world of fortune and literary fashion.

He was also in indirect touch with the Court through the Seymours, between whom and the Sackvilles there must already have been, at the time of his stay in England, a connection which was later strengthened by marriage. The Seymours were entitled to no literary fame; but they had played a prominent part on the political stage of the middle and late sixteenth century.⁹⁹ Edward Seymour, Lord Beauchamp (1561-1612), the grandson of the Lord Protector Somerset, and the son of lady Catharine Grey, Lady Jane Greys half-sister, was a possible claimant to the throne. He had married a Catholic wife, Honora, daughter of Sir Richard Rogers of Bryanstone, Dorset. Here again, the husband conformed, while the wife kept up the religious tradition. Now Southwell was a distant relative of the lady Beauchamp,¹⁰⁰ and his intimacy with her, or at any rate with her mother Lady Rogers, is proved by the fact that he wrote especially for her his translation of Diego de Estella's *Meditaciones devotissimas del Amor de Dios*. It may be worth while mentioning that Edward Seymour, the

⁹⁸ BAYNE, *Anglo-Roman relations*, Oxford 1913, pp. 205-207.

⁹⁹ Cf. *Dict. Nat. Biogr.*, 1st ed., vol. LI, pp. 310-12, art. Seymour (Edward) by A. F. POLLARD.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. file of Fr J. H. Pollen's notes on Southwell at Farm Street House (an oblong file in green pasteboard covers), in which it is stated that Lady Rogers' mother was Cicely, daughter of Sir Andrew Luttrell, while Southwell's uncle, Thomas Copley, had married Catherine Luttrell.

son of the lord and lady Beauchamp, married in 1609 Anne, third daughter of Robert Sackville, to whom jointly with her brother and sister the *Triumphs* were dedicated.

Another one of Southwell's dedications is of importance, as it proves his connection with the powerful feudal aristocracy of the Western counties. It is that of *Mary Magdalens teares* to Dorothy Arundell, the daughter of Sir John Arundell of Lanherne, of the Arundells of Cornwall (unrelated to the Howards). He must have been brought into touch with the family by Fr John Cornelius, who had been sent by John Arundell, when a young student, from Oxford to the English College, Rome, where he had read theology for three years in Southwell's company. He no doubt remained in frequent touch with the latter, and in fact he joined the Society while both were missionaries in England. Neither Dorothy Arundell, who was to die as a Benedictine nun at Brussels, nor her father, seem to have had much to do with literary life; but their social position was of the highest, John Arundell being called, on account of his wealth and domestic splendour, the "great Arundel."¹⁰¹

It would no doubt be possible to find out further information about Southwell's circle of acquaintanceship. Who was, for instance, that "M. D.S. Gentleman," to whom he dedicated the printed editions of the *Rule of good life*? Meanwhile, as this picture of the Jesuit's missionary labours draws towards completion, we are enabled to undertake a correct valuation of the contending spiritual forces in Elizabethan England. The generally accepted view in this respect has been popularized by Taine, and still holds its ground. According to it, the religious problem scarcely existed at all for the majority of Englishmen in the late sixteenth century. They indulged freely in that love of life for its own sake, of passion and action, of physical beauty and pageantry, which was the outcome of the Italian Renaissance; while the ethical side of their nature had been all but smothered, and no objection was generally taken to the moral depravation which had also been imported from Italy. The honest, if boorish, jollity of medieval "merry England" mingled with the more refined, though more licentious, gaiety of the South. Carnival bells jingled in London streets. And in that general merrymaking, no room was left for the care of the soul. The state religion was but one form of national pride, of the almost physical joy felt by the country in the discovery of its awakening strength, of the lustiness of its sinews. Only a small group of soured Protestants were beginning a reaction which was to end in the stern victory of Cromwell's Ironsides.

That such a picture is very largely untrue must appear to anyone who is at all familiar with the Catholic sources of late sixteenth century

¹⁰¹ MORE, *Hist. Prov. Angl. S. I.*, p. 165 : "nomen sibi fecit magni Arondelij."

history. It is, in any case, dangerous and unsafe to judge a nation as a whole by its popular rejoicings, and especially its theatre; for it is apt to exaggerate — as the detective story and the cinema do nowadays — the sensational or depraved elements of the life of the people, and to take little account of its staid, sober and edifying features. Sedate burghers leading humdrum lives are wont to take pleasure, once in a while, in uproarious laughter or tales of blood-curdling adventure. But in the present case, the chance of a mistake is increased tenfold; for a ban was placed by law upon the expression of all truly religious feelings. It is clear nevertheless that literary "Elizabethanism" did not extend to the whole bulk of the people; and it is no less clear that the reaction against Renaissance paganism, against "atheism," was not confined to religious extremists. That there was a curious parallelism between the efforts of Protestant Puritanism and those of what we must needs call Catholic Puritanism, is strikingly shown by Kitley's words in the later version of *Every man in his humour* :

He's no precisian, that I am certain of,
Nor rigid Roman Catholic...¹⁰²

Such an expression as "rigid" may surprise, and it is indeed ill-adapted to the outward manifestation of the Counter-Reformation spirit; but if used in regard to manners, in contrast to the moral laxity of the Court, it is perfectly true. Catholic resistance against the Renaissance was born, like it, in Italy; but it spread to England, thanks to the efforts of the missionaries, and managed to make some headway against appalling odds, especially amongst the aristocracy, where it revived the memories of the Old Religion. Its spiritual ideal appealed to many noble souls, now winning them over entirely, now keeping them within the fringe of its influence. Hence the devout, austere, well-regulated life of Catholic households under their spiritual directors; the sending of many young men of birth to the seminaries abroad; the keeping up of Catholic worship, in circumstances so public as to imply the connivance of numerous congregations; hence Catholic or semi-Catholic marriages even in the highest families, the repeated editions of Catholic printed works, the swarming of Catholic manuscripts; hence the dedications of Catholic works to members of the nobility. Such a state of things alone can account for the attraction which was felt towards Catholicism by a large part of the English people, far into the seventeenth century; for the religious waverings of Donne, of Ben Jonson, of Milton even; for the Laudian revival and its extension to literature; for the fact, last of all, that the Catholic temper lived on in England, though beneath the surface, to reappear in less troublous times.

¹⁰² Act. III Sc. II.

CHAPTER III

THE TEST OF SUFFERRING AND DEATH

THE story of Southwell's last years, which the following pages will tell, is supremely beautiful. It is, indeed, doubly pathetic, like that of Campion and many others who suffered under Elizabeth; for the missionary priests who were then executed, though they undoubtedly died for their faith, were also the victims of the confusion of thought then prevailing as to the limits of the civil and ecclesiastical powers. The religious ideal of the Middle-Ages, which made the pope the head of an international Christian theocracy, had not yet passed away; and though Southwell and his fellow-missioners sincerely protested that they had done nothing towards restoring the temporal supremacy of the Holy See, their judges were not the men to enter into such nice distinctions. It sufficed for them that the spirit of Catholicism was fundamentally opposed to the religious nationalism of the Reformation. Indeed, Southwell's death would have been quite as beautiful if he had professed adherence to the medieval theory of papal supremacy, this being in itself no taint upon his moral purity, unless judged by narrowly insular standards. But in fact he was deeply attached to his native country and sincerely loyal towards Elizabeth. The only reason given for the sentence against him was his priesthood, and that he was guilty of any plotting was not even suggested. The queen's ministers and their servants can therefore scarcely be acquitted of the charge of unnecessary brutality and even barbarousness; nor can they be excused because the Armada was still fresh in men's minds, and because they were fighting in self-defence against a party which time had no yet rendered negligible.

The evidence available in regard to Southwell's arrest, imprisonment, trial and execution, is exceptionally ample; so ample indeed that no claim to completeness can be made in the following narrative. The contemporary accounts are numerous, and of course most trustworthy; but the biographies of the seventeenth century should be neither neglected, nor despised; they are less direct, more rhetorical, but they bring in the aftermath of explanation and anecdote. On the whole, both the early and late narratives agree in every essential point; and the information they bring is so full, that Southwell's last years appear to us in vivid colouring and minute detail. It tells much for the constancy and mutual

support of Elizabethan Catholics that the Jesuit should have lived in England so long without being betrayed to the spies of the government. Yet they at last succeeded in getting hold of a false friend who delivered him into their hands. Among the well-known Catholic families of that time was that of the Bellamys, whose house was at Uxenden, near Harrow-on-the-hill. Campion and Persons had "tilled that field."¹ The head of the family, Richard Bellamy, "the son and brother of martyrs,"² was himself a "schismatic," and attended Protestant services, though at heart a Catholic.³ Nevertheless his daughter, Anne Bellamy, was committed to the Gatehouse prison on January 26th, 1592, by the order of the bishop of London.⁴ There "lyvinge a very loose life", she "was in dishoneste maner gotten with child by "one Jones, servant to the keeper there," and within the space of twelve weeks, that is, early in April, "being with child, was delivered by Mr Topcliffe's means, upon bail, not to depart above one mile from the city; at which time, she lay at the house of one Mr Barforde, in Holborn, until midsummer day following."⁶ After her fall, she became an absolute moral wreck, and a tool in the hands of the government police. Topcliffe used her as a decoy to get hold of Southwell.

According to More, who wrote from first-hand documents, the Jesuit had previously been at Uxenden from time to time, when he was able "to refresh himself from the wearisomeness of his solitude, by breathing a freer air."⁷ He would no doubt attend to the spiritual needs of the Catholic part of the household, while his presence was kept secret from the others. This appears clearly from the almost contemporary evidence supplied on July 3rd, 1598, by a Catholic priest, Robert Barnes, in answer to questions put to him at his own trial. According to him, Anne Bellamy, taking advantage of her comparative freedom, laid a trap for Southwell, whom she had known before,

¹ MORE, *Hist. prov. angl. S. J.*, p. 192 : "Familia Bellamaeorum Catholica, quam Campiani & Personij excultam laboribus, Southwelli quandoque rigabat industria."

² MS. Madrid, Arc. de la Hist^a. *Papeles de los Jesuitas*, vol. 116, p. 63. *Avisos de Londres* de 26 de Julio de 1592. Transcript at Farm Street. "Hijo y hermano de martyres."

³ Fr. Garnet's letter to Aquaviva, March 7th, 1595, MS. transcript at Farm Street, *Copia di una lettera del P. Henrico Garnette al R. P. N. Generale, scritta d'Inghilterra à 7 di Marzo 1595 intorno al Martirio del P. Roberto Suthoello*. This letter will be here referred to as *Fr. Garnet's Italian letter*. f. 117^a : "In una casa d'un gentil' huomo schismatico."

⁴ Speech of Robert BARNES, July 3rd, 1598, Stonyhurst MS. Anglia A.ii 41, reprinted in Tierney's edition of Dodd's *Church history of England*, vol. III, appendices, p. CXCvii.

⁵ Stonyhurst MSS, Anglia A. III; *A brefe discourse of the condemnation and execution of Mr Robert Southwell*... Cf. Fr. Garnet's Italian letter, f. 1^a.

⁶ Barnes's speech, Dodd-Tierney, vol. III, p. CXCvi.

⁷ MORE, *op. cit.*, p. 192 : "Cum dabatur solitudinis suae aerumnam liberiori aura recreare."

making use of her brother, who had never yet met him. She managed to get into communication with the Jesuit, who was unaware of her treason, and in order to have him easily captured at Uxenden told him that he was needed there. Barnes's account is here very full :⁸

"One Thomas Bellamy, a brother of hers [Anne's], upon midsummer day,⁹ coming to London, and going to see his sister, she was importunate with him to have him go with her to a seminary priest, which, she told him, did lie hard by; terming him by the name of a young man, giving great praise of his vertue and learning, the like whereof she had done unto her two sisters immediately before, desiring them of all sisterly loves, that, if any such person came unto her parents' house, she might have intelligence thereof, and notwithstanding any bond to the contrary she would come thither. Her brother refusing to go with her, and going about his other affairs, which she learned of him to consist most about Fleet Street," she managed to induce Southwell to seek him, to appear to him in the guise of a layman and a friend of his mother, no doubt so as to feel his way with one who was not a sound Catholic, and lastly to find a pretext to accompany him to Uxenden. So "in Fleet Street there met with him this Mr Southwell, who, having marks given him of him before to note him by, he asked him if his name was not Bellamy, and he yielding thereunto, he told him his mother was his country-woman, and her friends dwelt nigh unto his, and therefore, he would be gladly acquainted with her; desiring him to show that favour, as to stay that night for him, and the next morning he would ride home with him. The time and place being appointed, they took horse together, at ten of the clock, and by twelve came to Uxenden."¹¹

Anne Bellamy had already provided Topcliffe with a letter in her own hand, "giving him the way to the house, giving him marks to know the house by, and directing him right unto a secret place within the house," which was used as a hiding-hole for priests.¹² She now warned him of Southwell's journey to Uxenden. The pursuivant had himself declared, More says, "that he took greater pleasure in the seeking out and tormenting of priests, than others did in the hunting of wild beasts."¹³ Whether the report be true or not, he had been lying in readiness for three weeks. He heard the news at Greenwich, where

⁸ One wonders whether Anne Bellamy knew his residence in London, and, if so, why she did not purely and simply send Topcliffe there. Was there any reluctance at court to having Southwell arrested at the house of the countess of Arundel or near by ?

⁹ June 24 th, 1592, O. S.

¹⁰ Barnes's speech, Dodd-Tierney, vol. III, p. cxcviii.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² MORE, *op. cit.*, p. 192 : "Topliffus (qui palam profitebatur neminem quemquam insectandarum ferarum voluptate capi magis quam ipse perquirendorum vexandorumque caperetur sacerdotum)..."

¹³ *Avisos de Londres.*

the court then was, and taking horse immediately "with a great number of armed men,"¹⁴ "made such fresh pursuit as he came to Uxenden, with justice Barnes," who dwelt near by,¹⁵ "also young Mr Fitzherbert and divers others, before twelve of the clock that night,"¹⁶ "and so beset the house that none could escape. Then commanded he the doors to be opened, which done, he entered, and first bound all the men in the house; then called for the gentlewoman, for he himself [Richard Bellamy]... was not at home, and presently willed her to deliver him one Mr Cotton [one of Southwell's aliases]¹⁷ that came that day to her house, which she at first very stoutly denied.

"In fine, either overcome by threats,¹⁸ or, as she saith, her secret place whereunto she had conveyed him being betrayed, she yielded to deliver him, which she performed speedily, fetching him thence, whom, as soon as Topcliffe had sight of, he offered to run at him with his drawn rapier, calling him a traitor, which he denying he demanded what he was. He answered, "A gentleman," "Nay," saith he, "a priest and a traitor." He bade him prove it, whereat he would again have run at him with his rapier, urging him that he denied his priesthood. He said "No; but," quoth he, "it is neither priest nor traitor that you seek for, but only blood, and if mine will satisfy you, you shall have it with as good a will as ever anyone's and if mine will not satisfy, I do not doubt but you shall find many more as willing as myself, only I would advise you to remember there is a God, and He is just in His judgments, and therefore blood will have blood, but I rather wish your conversion," or some speech to like effect. This done, Topcliffe dispatched Fitzherbert to the Court to tell what good service he had done, and so fell to searching of the house, finding there much massing stuff, Papistical books and pictures, all which he caused to be laid in a cart which was ready provided, and sent to his lodgings at Westminster, whither also, by six of the clock in the morning, he had brought the said Jesuit."¹⁸

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As soon as he had got hold of Southwell, Topcliffe undertook to extract from him damaging evidence against his fellow-Catholics. Hav-

¹⁴ Fr Garner's letter of July 26 th, 1592, printed in Christobel M. Hood, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

¹⁵ Barnes's speech, Dodd-Tierney, vol. III, p. cxcviii.

¹⁶ In one of his dispatches, dated Antwerp, August 3rd, 1592, Verstegan states that the alias he then used was "a name that before that time he had not used." (C. R. S., vol. v, p. 211).

¹⁷ Fr Garner did not then know the inside story of his brother-Jesuit's capture. In the above-mentioned dispatch, Verstegan asked Mrs Bellamy to show him the hiding-place in which Southwell had taken refuge, and as "she answered that she knew no such place, 'Then, quoth he, I do', And so he went directly vnto the place." (*Ibid.*)

¹⁸ Fr Garner's letter of July 26 th, 1592, Hood, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-45.

ing failed to do so in the first interrogatory, he wrote to the Queen that he intended to make use of torture. "Most graceoos Sovèreigne, haveinge fr. Robert Southwell (of my knowledge) *the* Jhezewt in my stronge chamber in Westminster church yearde. I have mayde asswed for startinge, or hortinge of himself, By puttinge vpon his armes a pair of Hande gyeves : & There & so can keepe hym eather from vewe, or Conference with any, But Nicolas *the* vnderkeeper of the Gayt howse & my Boye Nicolas beinge the man *that* caved me to tayke hym, by settinge of hym into my hands, *ten* myles from him.

"I have presewmed (after my lytell sliepe) to rvnne over this Examination incloassed, faythfully tayken, & of him fowlye, & suspiciuously answered, & sumwhat knowinge the Natewre & doinges of the man, May it please your majesty to see my simple opynyon. Constrained in dewty to vtter it.

"Vpon this present taykynge of hym, It is good foorthewith to inforce him to answer trewlye, & dyrectly, & so to proove his answers trewe in hast, To the Ende, *that* such as bee deeply conserved in his treacherees have no time to start, or mayke shyfte.

"To vse any meanes in common presons eather to stande upon or against the wawle (whiche above all thinges excels & horteth not) will gyve warninge. But if *your* highness pleasor bee to knowe anythinge in this hartte, To stande against the wawle, His feett standinge vpon the grownde, & his hands But as highe as he can reatche against *the* wawle, lyke a Tryck at Trenshemoare will inforce hym to tell all, & the trewth proved by *the* Sequelle.¹⁹

"The answer of him to *the* Qvestyon of *the* Countesse of Arundell, & that of father Parsons, discipherethe him..."²⁰

Indeed the pursuivant did his best to "use" his prisoner "rightly" in the course of the next few days, though how little he understood Southwell's frame of mind is shown by the precautions taken against his committing suicide. All through the day after his capture — July 6th, 1592, N. S.,²¹ — Southwell remained in Topcliffe's house; "and

¹⁹ Trenchmore, an old English country-dance of a lively and boisterous nature. (N. E. D.)

²⁰ B. M., LANSDOWNE MS. 72, f. 113. (*Burghley Papers*, 1592), reprinted in Christobel M. Hood, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-48. The letter is somewhat incorrectly reproduced in Strype, *Annals*.

²¹ The date of Southwell's capture is given as July 5th, 1592, in Fr. Garnet's letter in English written three weeks after the event, and quoted above; which letter is obviously to a correspondent abroad, and consequently has its dates in the new style; whereas Topcliffe's letter to the Queen, written on the day after the capture, is dated June 26th, O. S., i. e. July 6th, N. S. This agrees with the date given by Barnes (June 26th), which is necessary in the old style, since his interrogatory was taken in England; while the fact that Garnet stated in his Italian letter to Aquaviva in 1595 that Southwell had been taken on June 25th, 1592, must of necessity be due to a lapse of memory.

the next night, Fr Garnet writes, he was conveyed close prisoner to the Gatehouse" prison, within the precincts of Westminster abbey. There he was "examined divers times by Topcliffe and others; as by Mr Killigrew, Mr Wade, Mr Beal, and Mr Young, by orders from the Council both jointly and severally." Fr Garnet was not yet sure, when he wrote the letter from which we quote, that violence had been applied. "It is reported by some, he wrote, and very credibly, that he hath been tortured as by being hanged up by the hands, put in irons, kept from sleep, and such like devices to such men usual, but hereof there is no certainty.²² But the account sent to Spain from London on the same day²³ says that Topcliffe "had tormented him most cruelly four or five times, almost bringing him to the point of death," and we get further details from later narratives. Southwell was hung up against the wall by the wrists, sharp-edged armlets being used for the purpose;²⁴ and as the ceiling was too low for his feet to dangle freely, they "were tied up to his girth behind, which increased his sufferings not a little.²⁵ He was left in that posture as long as seven hours on end.²⁶ After a while he would faint, and it was necessary to "run up and give him some brandy to drink, which having taken he recovered his senses, and spewed out a great quantity of blood."²⁷ We also hear from Verstegan that Topcliffe once "left him hanging and so went abroad. After he had been a long while absent one of his seruants perceiuing the father to be in a swoon, or in some danger to give up the ghost, called him hastily home again to let him down for that time."²⁸

"Among those of the Council, Fr Garnet says, who examined him, was Sir Robert Cecil; who, taking a journey with a certain gentleman, told him, that they had a new kind of torture, no less cruel than the rack, and such that no man could bear it; and yet he had seen Robert Southwell, being thus suspended, remain as dumb as a tree-stump; and

²² Fr Garnet's letter of July 26th, 1592 (N. S.) in the archives of Westminster archdiocese, printed in Hood., *op. cit.*, pp. 45-6.

²³ *Avisos de Londres*. This is dated July 26th, 1592, presumably N. S. "Dicen que Topley le ha hecho quatro o cinco veces tormentos muy crueles hasta llegar cassi a dexarle por muerto."

Verstegan, writing on July 26th/ August 5 th, states that Southwell had been tortured "at four several tymes." (C. R. S., vol. v, p. 212).

²⁴ BARTOLI, *Evropeae historiae Societatis Iesv pars prior. Anglia, Lvgdvni, 1671*, p. 354.

²⁵ Fr Garnet's *Italian letter*, f. 117^a, § 2 : "...ligauano li piedi del Padre uerso le spalli alla cinta... ilche non poco gl'accresceua il dolore."

²⁶ BARTOLI, *op. cit.*, p. 354.

²⁷ Fr. Garnet's *Italian letter*, f. 11^a, § 2 : "...bisognaua correre a dargli à beuere acqua uitae, la quale pigliata tornando in se gittaua immediatamente di bocca copia di sangue."

²⁸ Verstegan's despatch of August 3rd, 1592, C. R. S., vol. v, p. 212.

it had not been possible to make him utter one word."²⁹ At any rate, his examiners had not been able to extract from him any other answer than that he was "a priest and a religious man, true to the Queen and State, free from all treasons, only doing and attending to his functions."³⁰ On one occasion, as being first asked whether he had acted in the interests of the pope or the king of Spain, he had given no reply, the question was at last put to him, whether he had ever been inside St Paul's cathedral. "The Father answered that he would not confess that neither, because he could confesse nothing unto them but they would still infer further matter upon it, and seek to get from him more than he knew."³¹ He also refused to reveal the colour of a horse he had ridden on a certain day, "lest his adversaries should thereby surmise what Catholics he had been the guest or companion of." When he was not under torture, he would return gentle replies to his questioners; but "if Topcliffe broke in, he would not vouchsafe him even one single word. Being asked why: 'I have found by often experience, he said, that that man is not open to reason.'³² At this time already, Anne Bellamy's evidence was used to prove him guilty of equivocation; for he had told her, as she confessed, that she might lawfully answer in the negative, if she was asked where a priest lay hidden, though she actually knew where he was. According to Topcliffe's own statement as his trial, he answered "before Sir Robert Cecil... with a speech of ovr Saviour where he sayd that the Angels in heaven knewe not of the day of iudgment, nor the Sonne of man: meaning, for to tell them [that he knew the day of judgment, but would not say it to the apostles]. And being asked whose exposition it was," he replied "it was St. Hierom's."³³

Southwell's prison in the Gatehouse was so filthy, that when he was taken out of it at the end of a month to make his appearance before one of the courts of justice³⁴ "he was so full of lice, that covered his

²⁹ Fr Garnet's *Italian letter*, p. 117^a, § 2 : "Tra quei del Consiglio, che si trouorno ad essaminarlo fù il Signor Roberto Cecilio, il quale facendo viaggio con un gentil' huomo, gli raccontò, c'haueuano una noua sorte di tormento non men' acerbo dell equuleo, et più anche di quello che potesse sopportar un' huomo; nondimeno ch'hauesse veduto Roberto Suduello star sospeso in esso com' un tronco senza poterlesi cauar parola di bocca."

³⁰ Fr. Garnet's letter of July 26th, 1592, in HOOD, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

³¹ Verstegan's despatch of August 3rd, 1592, C. R. S., vol. v, p. 212.

³² MORE, *op. cit.*, p. 193 : "...nimirum nè ex indicio coniecturam caperent aduersarij quibus aedibus aut quorumnam Catholicorum consortio eo die vsus fuisset; Et extra quaestionem quidem saepius ab iisdem interrogatus humaniter respondebat : Si quid verò Topliffus ingereret, verbo vno etiam tum non dignabatur hominem; rogatus causam, expertus sum, inquit, frequenter hunc ratione non capi."

³³ Leake's relation of the martyrdom of Father Southwell, in C. R. S., vol. v, p. 335.

³⁴ YEPEZ, *Historia particular de la persecucion de Inglaterra*, Madrid 1599, p. 643. This is the only authority for Southwell's appearance before a court of justice in 1592,

clothes, that he was pitied by all who saw him, and much more so by his father. The latter petitioned the Queen, that if his son had committed any crime, for which he deserved death according to law, he should suffer death; if not, that her Majesty be pleased to have him treated as the person he was, being a gentleman, though he were a Jesuit; and to give him permission, as his [Southwell's] father, to send him what he needed to sustain his life; which was granted to him, and thus his people visited him, and thenceforth sent him meat, and a Bible, and the works of St. Bernard, which he himself wanted for his solace."³⁵ This petition was no doubt the occasion of Southwell's transfer to the Tower. There is an order of the Privy Council to the Lieutenant of the Tower, dated July 25th, O. S. (August 4th, N. S.) which runs as follows: "To receive into your custody and charge the person of Robert Southwell a priest whom Mr Topcliffe shall deliver unto you to be kept close prisoner, so as no person be allowed to have access unto him but such an one as Mr Topcliffe shall appoint to remain with him as his keeper. Herein we are to require you to take that order for the safe keeping and close restraining of the said Southwell as appertaineth, being a most lewd and dangerous person..."³⁶ Then begins a long period of absolute isolation, which must have tested the Jesuit's fortitude to the uttermost. "For the space of almost three years, Fr Garnet writes immediately after Southwell's execution, he was kept a close prisoner, so that it was scarcely possible to know whether he were alive or dead; if not that in the last few months, two gentlewomen who were much devoted to him went on purpose to the Tower garden, pretending a wish to buy flowers, which grow there in beautiful sort; and they saw him from afar, and received his blessing."³⁷

but in one of his dispatches, Verstegan confirms that at the time of his removal to the Tower, "with close keeping and hard usage wanting linen to shift himself he was much troubled with lice." (Stonyhurst MS, *Anglia I*, fol. 121, despatch of October 18th, 1592) The intervention of Southwell's father and its success are also confirmed by this document and by a letter of Verstegan to Barnes, the Secretary of Cardinal Allen, dated August 22nd, 1592 (Stonyhurst MS. *Anglia I*, p. 67.)

³⁵ YEPEZ, *op. cit.*, p. 643: "...salio tan lleno de pojos, que cubrian sus vestidos, y ponian lastima à quantos le vian, y à su padre mucho mas. El qual suplico à la Reyna, que si su hijo auia cometido algun delito, por el qual (segun las leyes) mereciesse la muerte, se la diessen licencia de embiarle lo que huiesse menester para sustentar la vida: lo qual se le concedio, y assi le visitaron, y embiaron de alli adelante de comer, y vna Biblia, y las obras de San Bernardo, que el mismo pidio para su consuelo."

The source of Yepez was to all appearances Verstegan's dispatch to Baines of Sept. 14th, 1592 (Stonyhurst MS. *Anglia I*, fol. 121).

³⁶ *Privy Council Registers*, vol. x, fol. 504, transcript in file B7 at the Jesuit House, Farm Street.

³⁷ MORE, *op. cit.*, p. 193, says, on what authority is not stated, that "Southwell's sister Mary, the wife of one Banister, was sometime granted access to him." (Sorori suae Mariae (Banistero cuidam nuptae) patuit quandoque ad eum accessus...) This would probably refer to the time when Southwell was transferred to the Tower, and was allowed to obtain some necessaries from his family.

It seems really, Fr Garnet adds, as if our Lord had wished, out of his especial providence, to keep him for all that time as if in a good novitiate, and to try him as gold is tried in a furnace, so that he might find him worthy of himself... In that blessed solitude he gave him constancy and strength, and prepared him to show in public such tranquillity and peace, as left the very heretics amazed.”³⁸

“I managed, Garnet further writes, to have a breviary taken to him, which he was wont to use when he was at liberty, in such sort that he knew right well that it could not come from any [hands but mine]; and I understood later, that he took it with show of great contentment, not having until then been able to obtain a breviary³⁹; the which he kept unto the end, since he carried it with him when he was taken to Newgate, and there entrusted it to one, who might have it given to me. Thus these books were his sole company, and from them it may be thought he drew enough strength to face the sufferings, which he bore with such peace and cheerfulness. While I was writing this letter, the said breviary was brought to me, the which, as I said before, he had left when going to his death to the keeper of Newgate, who always treated him humanely; as also did the lieutenant of the Tower, who bore him love and respect, oftentimes calling him a holy and blessed man, when he had occasion to talk with him. I have turned over each leaf of this breviary curiously, and have not found one single sign made with ink, from which it follows, that he was never granted the commodity of writing to his friends outside; one can just see the word “Jesus” scratched in with a pin, and on another page further on, “My God, and my all”; the which words were in his life most commonly used of him, as also he was wont to write often on all his belongings : “God hath given himself to thee, give thyself to him.” One can also see there many numbers, similary scratched with a pin, and I fancy they must be signs pertaining to the examination of his conscience, whether general, or particular...” and here Garnet refers to the practice of mental attendance at mass, and confession to God, which Southwell used

³⁸ Garnet's *Italian letter*, f. 117^a, § 2 : “...per spatio di quasi tre anni stette il Padre inserrato in strettissima carcere in modo, che mai si puotè à pena saper s'era uiuo, ò morto, se non che andando à posta due uolte, ch'in quest'ultimi mesi due Gentildonne molto sue diuote al Giardino della Torre con mostra di uoler comprar fiori, qual'ui di bella sorte nascono, lo uiddero di lontano, et n'ebbero la sua benedictione. Veramente pare, che *Nostre Signore* habbi voluto conparticular prouidenza tenerlo tutto quello tempo com'in un buon nouitiato, e prouarlo come l'oro nella fornace, acciò lo trouasse digno di se... in quella beata solitudine dandoli fortetza, e uigore, e facendoli mostrare in publico tanta tranquillità, et pace, che cagionò stupore à gl'Heretici stessi.”

³⁹ According to an entry in the file of Father Pollen's notes at Farm Street, Fr Garnet, in a letter of March 17th, 1594, referring to Pormort, states that “Southwell is well and has received a breviary.” It seems however as if the gift of the breviary had been made when Southwell was transferred to the Tower.

to recommend to his penitents, who were often deprived of the spiritual ministrations of a priest; "which devotions he no doubt himself observed in his solitude."⁴⁰

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Thus the years dragged on wearily. At first the capture of the Jesuit had aroused considerable excitement. Privy councillors had questioned him repeatedly, and caused him to be tortured, hoping that his answers might lead to the disclosure of some plot among the disaffected nobility. Then suddenly all was still. It seems as if Elizabeth and her ministers had been unwilling to bring matters to a conclusion. The Queen afterwards lamented Southwell's death⁴¹; and her servants thought it advisable to keep the Jesuit alive, though in safe custody, lest he should be considered as a martyr⁴²; or again, preferred to show some clemency to one whose parents possibly retained, or at any rate had enjoyed in the past, a measure of favour at court.⁴³ In any case it seems most unlikely that he was again tortured in the Tower; no evidence to that effect is found either in contemporary accounts or later biographies. Perhaps his constancy and modesty had forced the respect, if not gained the love, of his tormentors. At the end of 1592, there had been hopes among the Jesuits at home and abroad that the captive missionaries might be ransomed; though Fr Aquaviva, replying from Rome to a suggestion of the kind made by Fr Garnet, counselled prudence, as the thing might be an occasion of

⁴⁰ Fr Garnet's *Italian letter*, f. 117^{ab}, § 2-3 : " Io procurai gli fosse portato un breuiario, ch' egli adopraua quand'era in liberta di modo che sapeua molto bene non potergli uenire se non dalle [mie mani] Et intesi di poi, che lo prese con demonstratione di molto contento no hauendo fin'all hora potuto hauer breuiario, quale si uedè come ritenne fin' al fine, poiche lo portò seco quando fù menato alla porta nuoua e quiui lo consignò ad uno, che lo facesse dare a me. Laonde questi libri erano tutta la sua compagnia, et da essi si può credere cauasse assai per pigliar li trauagli, che sopportò con tanta pace, et allegrezza. Mentre io stauo scriuendo questa mi fù portato ditto Breuiario, quale, comme diceuo dinanzi, lasciò nell' andare alla morte al Bargello di Porta Noua, che lo trattò sempre humanamente, come anche fece il luogotenente della Torre, che gli portò amore, e rispetto, chiamandolo spesso uolte sant'uomo, e beato nell' occasini di parlar con lui. Hò riuoltato questo riuoltato questo [sic] Breuiario tutto curiosamente ne ui hò trouato pur un segno fatto con inchiostro, dalche comprendesi, che non fù mai datagli commodità di scriuere fuori all' amici; solamente si uede signato con spiletta Jesus, et appresso in un' altra facciata Deus meus, et omnia, quali parole in uita gli erano molto familiari, sicome soleua anche scriuer spesso in tutte le sue cose Deus tibi te, tu te Deo. Vi si uedono in oltre, molti numeri, segnati parimente con spilla, et m'imagino douesser' esser' caratteri pertinenti all' esame della coscienza ô Generale, ô Particolare.... le quali cose tutti [sic] non è dubio, ch'egli stesso osseruasse in tutta la sua solitudine."

⁴¹ YEPEZ, *op. cit.*, pp. 646-647.

⁴² MORE, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

⁴³ J. JUVENCUS (Jouveney), *Historiae Societatis Jesu pars quinta*, Tomus posterior, Romae 1710, p. 129. Many things are mixed up in this biography, yet there seems to be some source for every statement in it.

scandal.⁴⁴ In the latter part of the year 1594, the arraignment of the three Jesuits, Southwell, Walpole and Gerard, was decided upon, but put off on the opening of peace negotiations with Spain.⁴⁵ Early in 1595, however, the attitude of the government suddenly stiffened. Only two of Southwell's contemporary biographers try to account for this change. Yepez surmises that "on the taking of some students that were captured at sea in a ship of Calais, as they were travelling from the seminary of Saint-Omers to that of Sevilla, those of the Council suddenly resolved to take Southwell's life."⁴⁶ This, however, adds to the mystery rather than it clears it up. But a more likely explanation is suggested by Southwell's comrade of Douay and Rome, John Deckers. Writing shortly after the death of his friend, he says that Elizabeth "was incited" to severity "by the happy success of the heretics in France, and the example of the Navarrear, thundering against the whole order of the Society of Jesus." He afterwards refers to the fact that just previous to Southwell's trial, the Queen had heard that "all the fathers of the Society of Jesus had been expelled from the dominions of the Navarrear, and that one of them had been put to a most cruel death in Paris; "the persecution, he says, which had up till then been conducted in a remiss and languid fashion, was thereupon made even sharper than it had ever been."⁴⁷ The events here alluded to by Deckers were consequent upon the attempt made upon the life of king Henry IV of France and Navarre, on December 27, 1594, by a pupil of the Jesuits, Jean Châtel; the whole Jesuit order was then banished from France, and one of the teachers at the Collège de Clermont, Fr Guignard, whose papers contained fiery declamations against the king, was hanged. Now one may easily imagine the effect produced by such happenings at the English court; the dangers from Jesuit plotting against national sovereigns would appear even greater, and the conduct of the French king, by then a Catholic, would be a telling example; this was likely one of the reasons, it not the sole reason, for Elizabeth's own drastic action.

⁴⁴ Letter of the Fr General Claude Aquaviva to Fr Garnet, MS. in General Archives S. J., *Flandro-Belgae* I, p. 507. Date 10 October, 1592.

⁴⁵ Letter of Fr Garnet to Fr Persons, November 19, 1594. Stonyhurst MSS. *Anglia* A I, 82.

⁴⁶ YEPEZ, *op. cit.*, p. 643: "...con ocasion (como se piensa) de vnos estudiantes que prenderon en la mar en un nauio de Cales, passando del seminario de Santo Omer al de Seuilla, se resoluieron subitamente en el Consejo de Estado, de quitar al dicho padre Suthuelo la vida."

⁴⁷ *Narratio Martyrii B. P. Roberti Sotueli Societatis Jesu quam P. Joannes Deckerius ex Belgio vrbe louanio misit ad R. P. H. Generalem mense aug. 1595.* General Archives, S. J., vols. *Anglia* 31 and *Anglia* 30. P. I: "...Elisabetha... prospero haereticorum in gallia animata successu, et Navarrae in vniuersum Societatis Jesu ordinem... personantis prouocata exemplo... mox atque auditione percipere potuit Societatis Jesu Patres ex omni vbique Navarrae ditone proscribi... vnumque ex illis crudelissima nuper Parisijs nece extinctum esse..."

According to Fr Garnet, who was living at the time within hearing of every court rumour, the end was hastened by Southwell's own request to be put on his trial. "This blessed father, he writes a few days after the Jesuit's death, had an eager thirst of martyrdom, and discovered an uncommon yearning for it whenever he discoursed of it. Wherefore, though in all his examinations he replied most courteously and cautiously, lest he should anger the judge, or seem to presume too much as to what God's providence intended with him, yet many months since he sent to Robert Cecil, humbly beseeching him, that having been kept so long such a close prisoner, he might be brought forth to make answer in his own person to whatever might be objected to him, or at the least, that his friends might have some access to him. But he was given this reply, worthy of such a noble councillor, that if he longed for hanging so much, he might obtain it soon enough. I shall say nothing of the cruel and insatiable rage shown against this father by Topcliffe, who has never ceased making instance to the Councillor [Cecil] that he should be brought up before the Court. Lastly, it is here customary with the Council to proceed at certain times against some one, either a priest, or layman, and put him to death, to strike the others with terror."⁴⁸

Though little light be cast on the occasion of Southwell's death by the accounts of contemporaries or historians, the memories of his trial and execution were treasured up by his fellow-Catholics. From the moment when he left the Tower, they enjoyed free access to him, owing no doubt to the connivance of many among the Queen's servants. On February 18th O. S. (February 28th N. S.), the Jesuit "was removed, Fr Garnet writes, by special commission of the Councillor [Cecil], from the Tower of London, which is the Queen's prison, to that of Newgate, which is the hardest one among the twelve, which are to be found in London, so that he might always be at hand to appear before the court. He remained there three or four days in Limbo, as they call it, an underground chamber, and an infamous place, since robbers, who are already sentenced to the gallows, await there the hand of the

⁴⁸ Fr Garnet's *Italian letter*, f. 117b, § 3 : "Teneua questo benedetto *Padre* una sete intensa del martirio, e seglì scorgeua anche quando tal uolta ne ragionaua un gusto straordinario. Laonde seben' in tutti li suoi esami si portò nelle risposte con grand' accortezza, e cautela per non esasperar il Magistrato, ne parer, che troppo presumesse di quanto la diuina prouidenza disporrebbe di lui, nondimeno molti mesi sono mandò a dire a Roberto Cecilio com supplicarlo humilmente, ch'essendo egli tanto tempo tenuto in priggione così stretta, ô fosse hormai menato a rispondere per se stesso à quanto se gli poteua opporre, ô almeno, che gl' amici suoi potesser' hauer à lui alcun accesso. Ma ne riportò questa risposta degna di un tanto consigliere, che se tanto bramaua di esser appiccato ben presto lo poteua ottenere. Non dico della rabbia crudele, et insaziabile del Topcliffo contra questo *Padre*, il quale no hà mai lasciato di far istanza al Consigliere, che fusse menato al Tribunale Finalmente è costume quà degli Consiglieri di procedere a certi tempi contra qualch' uno ô sacerdote, ô laico, e farlo morire, per mettere spauento à gli altri."

hangman, but also much honoured, because so many martyrs have been lodged there, and not a few thieves converted, through the conversation they had with some doughty soldier of Christ. Yet through the care and charity of a Catholic, and also though the courtesy of the keeper, he was provided with a bed and a fire, and a candle which was always lit, because no other light enters there. As there was at that time in the place no robber under sentence of death, he had no other company than that of the worms, and sometimes of the keeper, a most unwonted thing. On that same night on which he was put into the said prison, and for the remainder of his short stay, they gave him plenty to eat, in such manner, that he said that he had never received such consolation from the Catholics themselves, while he was in the Tower, because it is a fortress in the City, and they dare not look inside. This was done by the Catholics in token of the great love, which they bore the Father, and they would have done more very willingly if they had been allowed to. Some time before he was brought up before the court, there came to meet him a poor servant-woman sent by his friends with some broth, who said to him : "Good sir, God comfort you; you are to appear this morning before the judges; drink this, that you may be stronger;" and this was the first word, that he heard, of the proceedings against him, whereupon "he chearfully sayd his harte was full of joy."⁴⁹ "Thus he was led to that same tribunal, before which so many years ago was presented his blessed predecessor Edmund Campion, to wit, the King's Bench"⁵⁰ at Westminster.

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There could be no possible doubt as to the result of the trial. The fear of being deemed disloyal and punished accordingly was more than enough to cow the jury into compliance with the will of the judges; more probably still, it had been packed from among the Protestant part of the population. We get a glimpse of its state of mind from an anecdote which was later told by a Catholic priest, Thomas Leake. The court, had first of all decided to sit, and the jurors had been called

⁴⁹ *A brefe discourse*, p. 1.

⁵⁰ Fr Garnet's *Italian letter*, ff 117b-118a, § 4 : "Fù dunque il Padre per spetial commissione del Consigliero rimosso dalla Torre di Londra Priggione reale alla Porta noua, la più aspra delle dodici, che sono in Londra, acciò ch'iui fosse sempre alle mani da presentarsi al Giudizio. Stette quìui tre ò quattro giorni nel Limbo, come chiarmano, per esser luogo sotterraneo, et infame stanza de latroni, che già condannati alla forcha aspettano la mano del Boia, ma assai honorato dal ricetto di tanti martiri, e dalla conuersione alla fede di non pochi ladri, per la conuersatione hauutaui di qualche ualoroso soldato di Christo. Gli fù però perla diligenza, e charità di un Cattolico, et per cortesia anche del Bargello proueduto un letto con fuoco, et una candela sempre accesa, perch' altro lume non ui puô essere, ne stando iui in quel tempo ladro alcuno condannato hebbe il Padre altra compagnia, che di uermi, et tal uolta del Bargello, cosa

up, three or four days before the date on which the sessions actually took place. On that occasion, Leake says, "I walked over the feild with one who seemed to be one of the principall Iurers; for he was in a silke dublet and other things correspondent. I asked him the cause of their appearance that day. Quoth he, "To be impaneld vpon a Iesuit." "What kind of men are they?" sayd I. He answered that they beleived in the Pope. "Why, that do they make of him?" He answered that they beleived more in him than in God, and that they came in ether to do some other mischeif or to kill the Queene."⁵¹ Southwell's obvious innocence of any such crime could not make much impression upon minds thus prepared. But there were fears lest popular demonstrations in his favour might take place: "By a cunning device, Fr Garnet writes to the Father General, his adversaries took care that very few people should be present; for the day before they gave no notice of what they were going to do, either to the gaoler or to any one else; and at the very time that he was summoned a notable thief was led off to execution, which was done that almost all the city might be drawn to see him, and thus not notice what was done with the Father."

Yet, Fr Garnet adds, not a few Catholics were present, who told us all that passed."⁵² The same writer's next letter to Fr Aquaviva (the Italian letter dated February 25th/March 7th), is a summary of such accounts, while two of these have survived in written form, one either being the copy of shorthand notes, or at any rate having been written down immediately after the proceedings. The last act of Southwell's life is thus reported with graphic accuracy. On February 18th/28th, the Jesuit was brought up before the court, which was composed of "Sir John Popham Lorde Cheife Justice, Mr Owine one of the Justice of the commone place [pleas], Mr Ewens baren of the exchequer, Mr

molt' insolita. Quella sera medesima, che fù messo in detta priggione, et tutt'il rimanente anche di quel poco tempo gli diedero da mangiare copiosamente di maniera, che disse di non hauer già mai riceuuto mentre stette nella Torre tanta consolatione dagli stessi Cattolici perche come quella è fortezza della Citta non ardiscono essi di guardarui dentro. Glisi mandò all'ora un poco di uino, quale riceuette dicendo di non hauerne beuuto in due anni. Questo i Cattolici faceuano in segno del grande amore, che portauano al Padre, et più haueriano fatto molto uolontieri se fosse stato loro permesso. Inanzi di esser presentato al Giudizio gli si fece incontro una pouera bonniciuola (*sic* for "donniciuola") mandata dagl' amici con un brodetto dicendogli *signor* mio Dio ui consoli, uoi dovete questa mattina comparir auanti li Giudici, e però beuete questo, acciò possiate esser più gagliardo, e fù la prima parola, ch'egli senti del fatto suo. Venne dunque condotto a quell'istesso tribunale, *alquale* tant'anni sono fù presantato il *Beato* suo Predecessore edmondo Campiano chiamato il Banco Reggio."

⁵¹ Stonyhurst MSS. *Anglia*, vi, pp. 125-128, printed in C. R. S., vol. v, p. 337.

⁵² Fr Garnet's letter of February 22 nd/March 4 th to Aquaviva, printed and translated in the supplementary fly-leaves to Grosart's edition of Southwell's poems. The translation given here is that of Grosart, p. 4 of the fly-leaves.

Daniell serieant at Lawe, & dyvers others.”⁵³ “There weir also sitting vpon the bench Fowler, Skevington, Doctour Stanhoop and Alderman Hart, Iustices. The father being brought along with halberts and bills and his armes tied with a cord, pressed with the throong at the length came to the bar; and then, having his hands loosed put of his hat and made obesance.”⁵⁴ “The commission beinge redde, and *the* grand enqueste [jury] impaneled, and sworne, the Lord Chiefe Justice gave the charge in this maner : that though theire commission were generally to inquire of all treasons & felonies, yet at this tyme, they ment not much to deale with any other treasons or felonies, but suche as were made treasons or felonies by *the* statute made Anno 27 of her majesties raygne, whereby all subiectes borne within this land, which sence the feaste day of *the* Nativiti of *Saint John the Baptist*, in *the* firste yeare of her majestis raighe, weare, or at any tyme after should be made Pristes, by authoritie dirivid from *the* sea [see] of Rome, & *which* then beinge in *the* land did not within 40 dayes after departe out of the Land, or *which* after the sayd 40 dayes should at any tyme come into, be or remayne within the same, were by the Act made traytors and to suffer as in case of high treason...; the Lord Cheife Justice says fourther *that* this lawe was made uppon wise cause & grounds of reason, for without this neyther her majesties persone could remayne in safety from destruction, nor any good subiecte could keepe his landes, goods, & lyfe; & to prove how daungerous Jesuites, & Pristes, were to the state, he referred as followeth : The rebellion in the North, by whom was it stirred, but by Cardinall Allen, a Jesuit, & the Colledge of Jesuits, & Pristes; Throckmortones action was by Jesuits, and Pristes; that of Parrye lykewise by Jesuits, & Pristes. The Spanish invasion was stirred by Allen, and Persons, Captaine traytores of Jesuits, and Pristes. And Carry a Jesuit came in the Navie with them. Hesketts action to sett upe a subiecte for kinge was their practis. And lastly *that* of Yorke, & Williames, to murder *the* Queene, was practised by Holte a Jesuite, & others, who one [on] his sowle, & by *the* blessed Sacrament warrented it. And Stephano Hara, Agent for the king of Spaine gave assurance for pament [payment] of 40000 crownes as mounted to 12000 Englishe [crowns] uppon *the* performance of it.” Having thus stated the reasons which made Southwell’s priesthood and religious profession, in and by themselves, disloyal to the Queen and dangerous for the State, Popham concluded that “other treasons, as coyninges or the like” might be brought to light by the evidence placed before the jury, who would have to take cognizance of them.”⁵⁵

⁵³ Stonyhurst MSS. *Anglia* A III i, *A brefe discourse...* etc., p. 1.

⁵⁴ C. R. S., vol. v, p. 334. Leake’s statement.

⁵⁵ *Brefe Discoure...*, p. 1-2. The word “coynings” was obscure even to contemporaries, and Deckers, who being a Fleming was probably not acquainted with the subtleties of

This is not the place to launch upon a discussion of the veracity of Popham's accusations against the Jesuits and the Catholics at large. That as regards particulars, they were, in part at least, gross distortions of the truth, cannot for one moment be doubted. But how could a Protestant-minded jury be expected to weigh niceties, while a ruthless religious war was raging throughout Europe, in which the party-spirit had well-nigh blotted out all distinctions between fair means and foul? It was too obvious that Philip of Spain, and the Ligueurs in France, considered Elizabeth as a mortal enemy, to be done away with at any cost; also that among the Spaniards and their French allies, the Jesuits were the staunchest champions of the Catholic spirit. The coincidence was enough: it seemed needless further to inquire whether the disciples of Loyola had actually counselled murder or not. In regard to Southwell, it is clear that he was guiltless of that active participation in the political side of religious warfare, which the judges considered as the most heinous of crimes when it was directed against their own government. Had he not been so, Popham would have done more than hypocritically hint that he might be guilty of "coinings or the like", and would have charged him with some further crime than that of having, as a priest, "been and remained" in England. But no other charge appears in the bill of indictment, which was now read by the Clerk of the Assizes, and ran as follows :

"Middlesex. The jury present on the part of the Queen's Majesty that whereas Robert Southwell late of London, clerk, born within this kingdom of England, to wit after the feast day of the Nativity of Saint John the Baptist, in the first year of the reign of her Majesty the Queen, and before the first day of May of the thirty-second year of the reign of her said Majesty the Queen, made and ordained priest by authority derived and pretended from the See of Rome, not having the fear of God before his eyes, and little regarding the laws and statutes of this realm of England, nor anything afraid of the punishment contained in the same, on the twenty-sixth day of June of the thirty-fourth year of the reign of her said Majesty the Queen, at Uxenden in the county of Middlesex, traitorously and like a false traitor to the said Queen's Majesty, was and remained, against the form of the

the English tongue, translated it literally in his Latin adaptation of the *Breve discourse* : "Quod si alia inquit proditionis ac laeseae Maiestatis crimina, de nummis adulterinis atque idgenus facinoribus pari argumentorum fide deferrentur, nemini dubium esse quin idem de ipsis iudicium fieri oporteret;" (*Narratio martyrii...*, p. 73 A.) and More, freely rendering Dekkers's account, states that according to Popham, Southwell was more guilty than forgers or clippers of money. (*Op. cit.*, p. 195) But this is an interpretation only, and Dekkers's translation makes no sense. It seems far more natural to interpret "coinings" as meaning "dissemblings", though this use be rare; for the reference can only be to the case of equivocation which was objected to Southwell later in the proceedings.

statute set forth and provided in such case, and against the peace of her said Majesty the Queen, her crown and dignities.”⁵⁶

Having heard the indictment, the jury retired for deliberation and “Master Cooke the Queenes Attorney Generall,”⁵⁷ “now came down from his seat,”⁵⁸ and “went after [them]... to instruct them.”⁵⁷ Meanwhile Anne Bellamy, who was the sole witness, was “introduced into the court”⁵⁸ “and sworne, truly to deliver to *the Inqueste* [jury] suche evidence as she knew was sent unto them. ”The jury“ sonne [soon] after returned to *the barre*, and delyvered upp *the* same bill [of indictment] endorsed, *billa vera*, and were dismissed.”⁵⁷ “Then Mr Southwell was brought to *the barre* where he used great reverence, and after some littell pawse, he was called by the nam of Ro. Southwell clarke and willed to hould up his hand, *which* he did, demandinge yf by the lawes he myght have libertie to speake; *the cheife Justice* said, you muste answer to *your* indightment. Then the indightment was reade, and he [the Chief Justice] demanded whether [he professed himself] giltye or not giltye; whereunto he [Southwell] offered perticularly to speake. But the Lord Cheife Justice said, he muste answer directly to *the* indightment and eyther confesse it, or say not giltye : He answered *that* he did acknowledge him selfe to be her majestis subiecte borne within *the* land and *that* by authoritie from God by the meanes of *the* Church of Rome hee was a Catholike Priste (he did thanke God for it) and *that* he was at Uxenden, in the said Countie of Midlesex, he could not denie : for the whole house sawe him there apprehended, beinge as he said trained et brought thether as a mouse to the trapp; his intention (God almightie knoweth) not to comytte any treason to the Queene or State, But only minister the Sacramentes to those *that* semed willinge to receyve them. Then said the Lord Chiefe Justice againe : “Mr Southwell you muste answer and eyther confesse *the* inditment, or say not giltye,” whereunto he answered : “Not guiltie, of any treasone.” He was asked how he would be tried; hee answered

⁵⁶ The *Brefe Discourse* gives the Latin text of the indictment as follows, pp. 2-3; “Midelesex : Jurati presentant pro Domina Regina quod Robertus Southwell nuper de London Clericus, natus infra hoc regnum Angliae, scilicet post festum nativitatis Johannis Baptistae anno regni dicte domine regine nunc primo, et ante primum diem Maij anno regni dicte domine Regina [sic] 32°. factus et ordinatus sacerdos per autoritatem derivatam et pretensam a sede Romana : timorem Dei ante oculos nomine [sic pour non] habens, leges et statuta hujus regni Angliae minime ponderans, nec poenam in eisdem contentam aliquid aliter verens : 2°. die Junii anno regni dicte domine Reginae nunc 34°. apud Uxenden in Comitatu Midelsex proditorie et ut falsus proditor dicte domine Reginae fuit et remansit contra formam statuti in huiusmodi casu edicti, et provisi et contra pacem dicte domine reginae coronam, et dignitates suas.

⁵⁷ *Brefe Discourse*, p. 3.

⁵⁸ Fr Garnet's *Italian letter*, f. 118^a : “Finito Poppamo il sermone scese dal suo luogho l'Auocato Reggio a darli l'informazione.. et in quel tempo fù introdotta nel Tribunale la sposa sopra nominata...”

by God, and them. *The* Cheife Justice sayd : "Yow muste answer directly, for wee are not to trye you, but the lawes." He answered againe *that* he would be tryed by God, and them, for *the* lawes were not accordinge to the word of God. It was said unto him by the Lord Chiefe Justice, *that* he muste pute him selfe in tryall upon God, & the Country, or else his refusall of *that* tryall, was a sufficient condemnation, and then they were to proceed with him otherwise; hee answered that he was loth these pore men the Jurors should be accessary, or giltie to his death, but sayd further : "Yf you will needes have it treason *that* I muste lay uppon the Jury, I will be tryed by God, and *the* country."⁵⁹ Then *the* shreve [sheriff] was commanded to retorne the names of *the* [petty] Jury, which beinge called, did appeare. It was said unto him [Southwell] : "You have hard *the* names of *the* Jury, *that* are to passe betweene her majestie & you upon your life & death;⁶⁰ yf you have any cause to challenge any of them, you may before they are sworne." Hee answered : "I know no goodnes in any of them, neyther doe I knowe any harme, but accordinge to charitie I iudge *the* beste and will challenge none ." The same Jury to *the* number of 12 were impaneled, & sworne to try the issue, whether he were giltie or not of this treason &c."⁶¹

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The earliest contemporary narrative, from which most of the above quotations are extracted, is confirmed in every particular by Fr. Garnet's Italian letter, written four days after the trial. It is, besides, the direct or indirect source of most accounts of Southwell's sufferings, and we shall therefore from now on let the anonymous Catholic who wrote it speak in his own words, only inserting from time to time such particulars as we have been able to discover elsewhere. The petty jury having taken their seats, "Mr Cooke, her majesties attorney generall, goinge down to *the* barre, sayd unto *the* Jury, you have harde *the* inditment, and that *the* prysoner hath pleaded thereto not giltie, & put him selfe in tryall uppon God & his country, (*which* are you) & resited *that the* inditment containd 3 points : firste, *that the* prysoner was a subiect borne within this land; 2^o, *that* hee was mad Preiste by authoritye from *the* sea [see] of Rome, and lastly that he was the said 26 day of June at Uxenden, in *the* County of Midlesex; and further said : "Mr Southwell, yf you will deny any of these, they shall be proved. For the firste I thinke he will not deny that he was borne *within the* land," which he presently acknowledged; "for the 2^o, Mr Southwell havinge

⁵⁹ I. e., "If you will give the name of treason to the so-called fault that I must burden the jury with the judgment of..."

⁶⁰ I. e., "that are to pass judgment, to decide, between the Queen and you..."

⁶¹ *Breve discourse*, pp. 3-4.

acknowledged him selfe to be a Catholike Priste, and thankinge God for it, you need not any fourther prouffe; I know he will & muste confesse it; likewise that he was made a Priste sythence *the* firste yeare of her Majestis raigne, for he was borne sythence her Majestis raigne," which hee also acknowledged. Heare the Chiefe Justice asked him howould hee was, seeminge to scorne his youth. He answered *that* he was neare about *the* age of our Savioure, who lyved uppon *the* earth 33 yeares, and he him selfe was as hee thought neare about 34 yeares. Heareat Topcliffe seemed to make great exclamation, fearinge hee compared him selfe to Christe. Mr Southwell answered: no, he was a humble worme created by Christe. "Yes, said Topcliffe, you are Christes fellow." "And then and many other times afterwards they called him boy priest with much railing. And as he wanted to speak in his defence more at length, he was commanded to be silent, and to listen to the attorney."⁶² The latter "proceeded & said: "For the 3 points [third pointe], I thinke he will not deny *that* he was at Uxenden in the Countie of Midlesex," which Mr Southwell acknowledged was true. He could not commytte any treasone, nor was there so [to] any other end, but to administer *the* sacraments, as he had said before. Mr Attorney shewed how *that the* acte of Anno 27 of *the* Queen had made *the* same treasone. Mr Southwell answered *that* he know the acte, but said that it was impossible, *that* any suche lawe could be made agreeable to the worde of God.

"Heare the Attorney made protestation as though he had not purposed to have spoken muche at his comminge thether; but Mr Southwell had lette slippe a word which he might not lette slippe, viz. *that* the lawes were not accordinge to *the* worde of God, besides hee sayd that to his great astonishment, even *that* tyme he had hard such a point of doctrine proved againste the prisoner (which he would afterward delyver), as he wondered of."⁶³ But firste he would prove *that the* lawe was made uppon good reasone, and *that* it was agreeable to the worde of God, and alleaged theruppon 2 places of Scripture viz. "Give unto Cezar *that* which is due unto Cezar &c." and "Obey *the* Prince &c." Heare Mr Southwell offered to have spoken and answered in perticuler but he was commanded by *the* Chiefe Justice to hould his peace untell *the* Queenes Counsaill had spoken, and then he should be hard. Mr Southwell answered, *and* he sought *that* he might answer forth with, because he could not carre [carry] it so well in mynd, by reason *that* his memory *and* sences ware muche impaired throughe Mr Topclyff [s] meane [s], under whose hands, he protested

⁶² Fr Garnet's *Italian letter*, f. 118^b: "Et allora et molt' altre uolte poi lo chiamarono sacerdote putto con gran scherno. Et uolendo parlar per se più distesamente gli fù comandato, che tacesse, e sentisse l'Auocato."

⁶³ This is a reference to Southwell's "doctrine" of equivocation.

of his soule, and as hee expect[ed] very shortly to answer it before Almighty God, he had bene tenn tymes tortured so extremely *that* the leaste of them was worse th[an] 10 executions. The chiefe Justice said he never knew *that* he wa[s] so tortured, the Attorney said *that* he never knew *that* ever he was racked. And Topclyffe said he was never racke[d]. "But you have newe kindes of tortures worse, I thinke, then *the* Rac[ke]", "[Southwell replied], and beganne to expresse *the* maner of them, but he was presently interrupted by *the* Chiefe Justice, who said *that* it was lawfull [to] use suche tortures, and hath ben so used by all Nationes: He answered: "I confesse it to be lawfull, *and that* other Nationes have the like, but when by torture nothinge cane be gott out [of] them⁶⁴, I wish there might be some measure therin, lesse [lest] a man in *the* ende by extremitie of paine be dryven to desperation." Then they cried out: "Show the harme you have had by *the* tortures." He answered: "Lett a woman shewe her throwes." Topclyffe said *that* he hade the Counsaills letters to shew, *that* he was commanded to sette him againste the wall, and to use him as he did, so *that* he did [not] tuche eyther lyfe or lymme, usinge muche other speaches to clear him selfe of *the* rigorous dealinge where with he was charged."

Southwell is here reported to have apostrophized him in the following words: "Thou art a bad man."⁶⁵ "Mr Attorney (Cooke) takinge *the* speache from Topcleff, sayd that he had no neede to goe about to excuse his proceedinges, in the maner of his torturings; "for, saide he to Mr Southwell, thinke yow that yow shall not be tortured? Yes, wee well [will] teare your hartes out of an hundred of your bodyes." Mr Southwell answered: "Wheare is charity?" Topcliffe sayd he would yf he could blowe them "all" to duste. Mr Southwell said: "What, bodie *and* soule?" Wherunto th' attorney sayd *that* was absurd, for hee ment not the Soule. Mr Southwell replied, the word "all" did includ *the* soule, and sayd *that* the lyke barbarous man to Topcleffe, he thought, was not to be found in all Christendome. Then Topclyffe was very earneste and begaine to rail, but they would not permytte him. Mr Attorney, leavinge *that* matter, proceeded to the proffe [proof] of the equitie of *the* Lawe in this maner,⁶⁶ viz: "Firste her majestie for preservation of her selfe, *and* her Realme, againste *the* Pope, [and ?] eny enemye to this state, did make it treason to give authoritie to any forraine Potentate. Then did *the* Pope send forth his Bulles *etc*: which ware mette withall and made treason. Then sent he forth Agnus Dei, and suche trashe *etc*, which was likewise mette withall *and*

⁶⁴ Out of those who are tortured.

⁶⁵ Leake's relation, C. R. S., vol. v, p. 335.

⁶⁶ Cooke merely rehearsed in his speech the successive stages of Elizabeth's penal legislation against the Catholics.

made treasone. Then sent he forth bookes to sture upp sedition and discention in *the* Realme, *which* was likewise mette withall and made felony to publishe them." (Heare he tooke occasion to give warninge *that* men would be carefull how they Red any bookes prohibited.) "And lastly as a matter that passed all *the* reste, did he send forth theses [sic] Jesuites, and Seminary Pristes, instruments for *the* Kinge of Spaine, to sture uppe seditione in all Countryes, whereby hee might subdue them." and said *that* the Kinge of Spaine did imploy all his forces to mayntaine *and* hold upp *that* rotten and decayed chair of the Sea of Rome. Mr Southwell would have answered *and* spoken to this, but was commanded to hold his peace, *and* to heare Mr Attorney, tell [till] he hade ended his speeche for *the* Queene. Then the Attorney urged *the* absurditie of theire doctrine, whereby dyvers had been perswaded of late yeares to attempe her majestis deathe, and distruction of this Realme. And perticularly accused Mr Southwell of a daungerous point of most wicked *and* horrible doctrine, seayinge *that* he did teache a gentilwoman *that* yf shee were examined whether Robart Southwell were at her fathers house, she might sweare "no," with the intention to her selfe not to tell them of it. (Leake gives these words in a clearer form : "Reserving this intention : "Not with a purpose to tell you.") "Heer thatturney exclaimed that the Roten chear [chair] would downe, which menttayned a doctrine by the which all iudgments, all giving of Testimonies should be perverted."⁶⁸ "For proufe thereof they brought fourth Anne, the... daughter to Mr Belamy... She beinge sworne, said *that* he had tould her, *that* yf uppon her othe, shee were asked whether she hade seene a Priste or not, she might lawfully say not, though she had seen one, keepinge this meaning in her mynd, *that* she did not see any, with intent to bewray him.

"Mr Southwell answered, that *that* which he hade sayde in suche maner as he speake it, yf they would give him leave to interprete his owne meaninge, he would prove was agreable to the word of God, to the Lawes both Canon and Syvill [civil], *and* was not his owne oppinion only but the opinyone of *the* Doctores and Fathers of the Church, and agreeinge to the pollicyes *and* proceedings of all ages, *and* in all Christian Nationes, *and that* yf they should not admytte that, they should take away *the* goverment [sic] of all states, both Ecclesiasticall *and* temporall, yea *and* the secrecy of man [man's right to keep his own thoughts private] ; *and that* without it, neyther this state, not any other state, government, or policy could possibly stand; and then goinge about to shew what he said, and to prouue it, they continually interrupted him, exclamyng still of the barbarous doctrine, seekinge to perswad the people *that* they [the Jesuits] taught *that* it was lawfull to com-

⁶⁷ Leake's relation, C. R. S., vol. v, p. 334.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 334-335.

mitte wilfull periury; wherewith hee begaine to be somewhat earneste in expellinge so horrible a crime, and tould Mr Attorney, *that* hee muste confesse as muche, "or els I will prove yow no good subiecte nor frend of the Queene." — "Yea, sayth Mr Attorney, lete me heare that." — "Suppose, sayth Mr Southwell, *that the* frenche kinge should invade her Majesti, and *that* shee, (*which* God defend) should by her enemyes be inforced to flye to some privat house for her safetie, wher none knewe her beinge but Mr Attorney, And *that* Mr Attornyes refusall to swere, beinge hereunto urged, should be a confession of her beinge in the howse (for I suppose that also); yf Mr Attorney in this case, should be examy[n]ed *and* should refuse to swere, *that* he knoweth, *that* her Majestie is not there, with this intention, not to tell them : I say, Mr Attorney were neyther her majestis good subiect nor frend."

"The cheife Justice sayd he should refuse to swere ; Mr Southwell answered, *that* were by silence to betray his Sovereigne; the Attorney said *that* the case was not like, and beinge moved in coler [choler] did often call Mr Southwell boy Priste, and tould him that he had not read the Doctors. "I have read those that have read them, and you, Mr Attorney, in the study of your lawes, do not presently [immediately] goe to the grounds and principles of the lawe, but take other menes reportes." — "I [Ay], sayth the Attorney, yow have studied Doctor Allen, Dr Parsons, Dr Holt, Dr Traytor etc." — "Then, sayd *the* Lord Cheife Justice, yf this Doctrine should be allowed, it would supplant all Justice, for we are men, and no Gods, *and* cane iudge but accordinge to theire [to men's] outward actiones *and* speeches, *and* not accordinge to there secrette *and* inward intentiones." Mr Southwell said *that* in this cause, towre [two] things are to be presupposed, *that* the Refusinge to swere is a confessinge the thinge, and *that* the othe be ministred by suche, as have no lawfull authoritie, and *that* every othe ought to containe Judgment, Justice, *and* truth, and *that* no man is bound to answer every man *that* asketh him, unlesse he were a competent Judge; *and* heare gave an instant [instance] of a theefe urginge a true man to sweare by the higheman [higheway]; and as he was goinge forward to explaine his meanyng, he was continually interrupted, so as they would by no meanes permytte him to say any more. Then he desired them to beare with him, seyinge they would not suffer him to prove what he had sayd, allwayes denyinge *that* ever he hade sayd anie suche thinge, in suche sorte, as they obiected. Heare againe Topclyffe begaine to be earneste in moste ralinge maner, as is alwayes usuall with him... But he was some [soon] willed to surcease. And some thing concerninge *the* inditment only beinge said to the Jurye, they were sent into a house aparte, to consulte of theire verdict.

"Then did the Cheife Justice command *that* the prysoner should be hade from the barre, to the end he might reste him selfe, *and* have some

drinke yf he woulde. Mr Southwell desired leave to stay, saying if he [they] would have him to be silent, he would not say any thinge. The Jurors retorned again presently, and delyvered theire verdict, *that* Mr Southwell was giltye of the treasone in suche maner and forme as was contayned in *the* inditment; Mr Attorney for *the* Queene demanded Judgment; and thereuppon the clark asked Mr Southwell what he could say why the Judgment should not be given. To this Mr Southwell answered, and sayd nothing but this : "I pray God forgive all them *that* any way ar accessaries to my death." Heare Topclyff againe would very willingly have had scope to rayle, sayinge he found him hidden in the tylls⁶⁹ of the howse, amongst his Goddes, (meaninge Puctores [Pictures]), and in the same, Parsons cypher. Mr Southwell answered it was tyme to hide when Mr Topclyfe came ; he protested he did not knowe of any suche Cypher, neyther did acknowledge any more Goddes then one. Topclyffe beinge not suffered to replie, the Lord Cheife Justice, (making a longe speeche of the former matters, whereunto Mr Southwell would have replied, but was forbidden, with a kinde of exhortation to Mr Southwell [that he] was to have a care of his soule, for which he gave him great thanks), gave iudgment *that* he should be caried to Newgatte from whence he came, and from hence to bee drawne to Tyburne uppon an hurdel, and there to be hanged and cutte downe alyve, his bowelles to be burned before his face, his head to be strecken of, his bodie to be quartered *and* disposed at her majestis pleasure. Mr Southwell thereunto made lowe *and* humble reverence, *and* gave great thanks for it. The Cheife Justice wished *that* some mynister might have some Conference with him, and sayd he would send a larned preacher unto him. He answered : "As for *that* you neede not take any care." Thereuppon Mr Southwell was had away; and the officers consulting whether they were better cary him him [sic] by watter or by land, they all concluded he would goe quiete enoughe, and so he went ioyfully with them thorough the streetes, where many of his friends *and* acquaintance awayted his comynge only to see him, which they did to their great conforte." "deeming themselves happy to obtain one glance from him"⁷⁰ "perceyvinge him full of consolation, his countenance noethinge dismayed, they never knowinge him to looke better or more cherefully."⁷¹

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⁶⁹ Probably the "tills" of the house; the word "till" meant "a small box, casket or closed compartment, contained within or forming part of a larger box, chest or cabinet" (N. E. D.) and may be used here ironically in reference to hiding-holes.

⁷⁰ Fr Garnet's *Italian letter*, f. 118^b. : "Quali trauersandolo si riputauano felici di esser da lui risguardati."

⁷¹ The whole of the preceding pages is taken from the *Breve discourse*, pp. 5-11, with the exception of a few passages inserted from other sources, which are referred to in the footnotes. The spelling of the original, which is of interest, has been retained; but

The above narrative is far more thrilling, in its nakedness and matter-of-factness, than the flowery amplifications of seventeenth century hagiographers. But it must also be viewed as a document of first-rate importance, both on Elizabethan Society, and on the personality of Southwell himself, as it emerged from years of stress and tribulation. The long-drawn debate between the judges and him on the "doctrine of equivocation" has given rise to much impassioned controversy. Blunt English patriots have declared against what they called hypocrisy, whereas the supporters of the Jesuits tried to clear them from the odium cast upon them on account of their so-called advocacy of lying and perjury. On either side, the historical setting of Southwell's trial seems to have been forgotten. When the Jesuit brought forward his imaginary instance to prove that speaking the truth might be tantamount to betraying the Queen, the Attorney-General replied that "the case was not like." Obviously what he found fault with in equivocation was its being used for the benefit of the Catholics. Nor did he really appeal to moral rectitude in the abstract. He agreed with Popham, who asserted that "should this doctrine be allowed, it would make it impossible for a court of law to perform its judicial function. The practice of putting accused persons upon their oath had scarcely disappeared at the time; a solemn promise made before God was considered as having such compelling force, that it constrained the accused man to answer truthfully, even to the extent of charging himself. This is of course wholly contrary, as well to present-day practice, as to our humaner feelings. Yet it seemed perfectly natural to Cooke and Popham that a witness should first be sworn under compulsion, and then required to incriminate relatives, dear friend or co-religionists. Thus whereas Southwell's contention appears to us perfectly logical and sensible, the refusal of his adversaries to see his point may to some extent be understood if we take professional necessities into account.

As for the Jesuit himself, it is clear that he had now outgrown the somewhat feminine sensitiveness of his earlier years. He now evidenced not merely meekness and patience, but also a keen fighting spirit. He knew that despite all precautions to stifle his speech, his words would echo far and wide outside the precincts of the court, and he cannot have forgotten that the conversion of the earl of Arundel had been greatly furthered by the aptness of Campion's retorts in similar circumstances. Undoubtedly, his judges were annoyed to have to deal with such a case; the very reasons for which his trial had been postponed, his gentle birth, his commanding personality and literary fame, his

the very inadequate punctuation has been completed, since otherwise it would have been impossible to read or to understand the text easily. It should be noted that the MS. used here is a faulty copy; it has been necessary in many places to supply corrections in square brackets.

obvious guiltlessness of any hateful offence, compelled them to a show of humaneness. Besides their aim was not so much to terrify his brother-Catholics, as to give them the impression that he was not, morally and intellectually, the tower of strength they took him to be. For all these reasons, they allowed themselves to be drawn into a kind of public debate, in which they hoped to show him up as an utterly worthless person. Southwell took full advantage of his opportunity, challenged every charge brought forward by Popham and Cooke, dealt with Topcliffe as his brutality deserved, condemned severe tortures on grounds of charity, and boldly defended his conduct and his motives.

Thus was the purpose of the government wholly defeated. There had been hopes among Elizabeth's servants, while Southwell was in the Tower, that his constancy might give way : justice Young stated that it had actually done so, in an attempt to break down the resistance of another Jesuit, Fr. John Gerard, also a prisoner for his faith. "After long wilfulness, he said, [Southwell] is now ready to conform, and wishes to treat with some man of learning." Gerard refused to be taken in by this palpable fraud, and to admit that his friend should "learn what to believe from a heretic."⁷² Despite the failure of all previous attempts of the kind, the judges had not yet realized Southwell's moral greatness by the end of his trial. They still supposed that the fear of approaching death might bring him to a recantation, which would be a shattering blow for his brother-Catholics, and they sent ministers to confer with him in his prison. "Beinge come to Newgate, he [Southwell] was presently put down againe into the dungeon, where 3 howers in *that* afternone some ministers had reasoninge with him uppon poynts of Religion, which was keepe very secreat and knowne to very fewe, neyther what was here said betwene them, or what further done or said *that* might [night], savinge *that* his keeper thereby hearinge *the* former reasoninge, and some other spirituall discourses which perticularly he used unto him, moved also by his great humilitie and devotion used him with all *the* kindnes he could, and resouldved uppon a better state of lyfe for the savinge his soule &c. After *that* he was by the under sherieve *and* the keeper retorned into limbo, the head keeper tould him *that* yf he thought he would hurte him selfe in *that* extremity, he could hamper him from any daunger ; wherunto hee sayd, that he never hard [heard] of Priste that hoortte him selfe, and *that* he was not so mynded to adde the distruction of his soule to the death of his body."⁷³

Regarding that last night, however, something more is known through Yeppez, whose biography is almost contemporary, and rests on documents received from England. He reports an extremely curious and suggestive

⁷² Fr. John MORRIS, *The condition of Catholics under James I*, London, 1871, p. Ixxvii (Life of Fr. John Gerard).

⁷³ *Brefe discourse*, pp. 11-12.

incident : "After the Father had been sentenced to death, there came to him in his prison an English nobleman of high rank, who besought him earnestly, as he was now to quit this life, to tell him whether that was true which he had been charged with, namely that he had come to detach the subjects from their obedience to the Queen." Southwell replied as he had done before, that he had had in view merely the "eternal weal of souls : " that he was so far from repenting what he had done, that he would do it again, if he could, and would come again once, or several times not only from Rome, but from the farthest parts of the world, to procure the salvation of the Queen, which he desired no less than that of his own soul; that he had always asked the Lord God to enlighten her, as well as her Council, as to ther error in which they were, and not to hold them as guilty for his own death."

"The gentleman was astounded with such an answer, and went and told the Queen [we must here anticipate the latter part of this narrative] all hat had passed at the death of the Father, praising him much, as also the rare parts that he was gifted with. Having heard this, the Queen answered, that he had been deceived with false reports, when he had been told, that the said father had come to raise sedition in the realm ; she shewed that she lamented his death, and much more so after she had seen a book that the same Father had composed of various pious and devout subjects, in the English tongue." The book here mentioned, which was to "teach poets... to use their talent as behoved them," must have been either *Saint Peter's complaint* or *Mary Magdalen's tears*.⁷⁴ The testimony of Yepez, when coupled with what we have said of the comparative leniency shown to Southwell, and what is more, with the judges' desire to appear lenient, shows that Elizabeth's grief was sincere, and that she was compelled by her advisers, who urged political necessities, to an act of cruelty which she could not help rueing.

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On the morning of Friday, February 22nd/March 4th, "*the keeper of Newgate bringinge him word that he was presently to be drawn to Tyburne to be executed, he embrased him and pulled of his nightcappe from his heade, and gave it unto him, sayinge : "I thanke you most hartily for your good newes; yf I had any better thinge to give, you*

⁷⁴ Yepez, *op. cit.*, pp. 646-647 (§ 13) : " Despues que el Padre auia recebido la sentencia de muerte, llegose à el en la carcel vn senor de titulo de Inglaterra, y le pidio con vna seuerissima conjuracion, por el trance que auia de passar, que dicesse si era verdad lo que le auian imputado, que venia para apartar los subditos de la obediencia dela Reyna. A lo qual respondio el Padre... que su intencion siempre auia sido, de procurar... la saluacion de todos : y tan lexos estaua de arrepentirse de lo hecho, que si estuuiera por hazer, lo mismo haria, y vendria vna o mas vezes no solo desde Roma, sino de la parte mas remota del mundo, para procurar la saluacion de la Reyna, que la desseaua como a su propia alma, y que siempre auia rogado à Dios nostro Senor por ella, como entonces

should have it." (*Which cappe the keeper albeit a protestante maketh such accompt of, that he cane be brought by no meanes to forgoe it.*)⁷⁵ If we are to believe the late biography of Juvencius, whose source we have been unable to discover, the keeper, "out of veneration for Southwell's virtue, laid a cloth upon the hurdle, on which he was to be drawn to Tyburn."⁷⁶ Leake, in his contemporary account, says that he was "layd along vpon straw... having a cord fastened about the wrists of his armes."⁷⁷ As soon as he was "layd one the hurdle, he said: "This is to [too] great a prefarment for so base a servant," which he repeated often tymes; and an ould Countryman *that* passed by cryed out sayinge, "God in heaven blesse and streng[t]hen yow;" and being rebuked for it, yet he still continued his praye[r]. As he was drawne betwext Newgate and Tyborne a gentilwoma[n] his kinswoman saluted him, desiring his prayers. He said: "Good Cosen, I thanke yow, I pray yow pray for me." He willed her to take heede of the horses *that* drew the hurdell, and wished her to forbear any further speeche *and* to be gone, for feare of her beinge apprehended; so she presently gotte away.⁷⁸ Farther hee speake litle or nothinge, but had his mynd wholly attentive to mentall prayer *and* medytation, houldinge upp his hands *and* fac[e] aswell as he could towards heaven; when he was almoste Come to Tyborne, he somthinge rayased upp him selfe to behould it ioyfully, and layd him downe againe; when he came to the place of execution, he was taken upp from the hurdell and lead to the end of a Carte, standinge there a lytle wh[ile] he whiped his mouth *and* face with a handkercher, *which* afterwor[ds] he caste towards on [one] of his acquaintance."⁷⁹ "He did not, however, succeed in reaching

lo hazia, y por su Consejo, que el Senor les diesse gracia y luz de conocer el error en que stauan, y por los mismos que le dauan la muerte, que no se les imputasse. Espanado el cauallero con esta respuesta, fue, y conto à la Reyna todo lo que auia passado en la muerte del Padre, alabandole mucho, y las raras partes que tenia. Lo qual sabido, respondió la Reyna, que le auian enganado con falsas relaciones, diziendole, que aquel Padre auia venido para alboratar el Reyno, y mostro dolerse de su muerte, y mucho mas despues de auer visto vn libro que auia compuesto el mismo Padre de diuersos pios y deuotos argumentos en lengua Inglesa... para enseñar a los Poetas, que tuuieren talento, a emplearlo como conuiene..." The idioms in this passage clearly point to an English original.

⁷⁵ *Brefe discourse*, p. 12.

⁷⁶ Juvencius, *op.cit.*, pars quinta, pp. 131-132.

⁷⁷ Leake's account, in *C. R. S.*, vol. v, p. 336.

⁷⁸ Fr. Garnet here gives a slightly different version of the incident: "e le [sic] disse, che per il fango non segl' apressasse troppo," "and told her, that she should not come too near because of the mud." (Fr. Garnet's *Italian letter*, f. 118b, § 5) Southwell here adds to his natural gentleness a touch of refined courtesy.

⁷⁹ *Brefe Discourse*, p. 12. The incident of the handkerchief is placed by Fr Garnet in his first (Latin) letter in the middle of the second part of Southwell's speech (Grosart's edition of the poems, fly-leaves, p. 9); but in his second (Italian) letter, he puts it in its present place which seems the natural one, since Southwell, having his hands unbound to wipe his face, would naturally throw the "sudarium" to a friend just afterwards.

him; and yet, Fr Garnet adds, when relating the incident to Fr Aquaviva, it has come into my hands, and I shall soon send it to your Paternity."⁸⁰

"After *that* the hangman hade puled him upp into the Carte, and opened his duble[t]," "his countenance appeared verie modest, yet chearfull, like the sun when it breketh out after that it hath dispersed the clouds."⁸¹ If Leake's account is to be trusted, the "minister of the Towre" began to press him with questions "as they weir taking him of the draw," an after he had been placed in the cart.⁸² But turning to him, "he answered, "I pray you mayster minister giue me leaue." So turning him self to the vnder-sherrif, he asked him whether he might speak;"⁸¹ "and he told him yea. Then signi[n]ge him selfe with the signe of the Cross, he pronounced these words very distinctly" : "Sive uiuimus, Domino uiuimus, sive morimur, Domino morimur, sive ergo uiuimus, sive morimur, Domini sumus."⁸³ "These words beinge spoken, as he begaine to saie, "I ame brought hether to die," the under shreve interrupted him, sayinge *that* he should only Gry God mercy and make an ende, unto whom he used this speeche, "Give ne leave to speake, it shall not be muche, *and* I will speake nothing offensive to the Queene, or the state." Heare beinge permytted to speak[e] he begaine in this maner : "I ame brought hether to performe *th[e]* laste acte of this misery, and for *that* my tyme is very shorte, I doe moste humbly desire at the hands of Almightye God, for our Good Saviour Jesus sake," by whose precious death and passion I trust to be saved,"⁸⁴ "*that* he would vouchsafe to pardone *and* forgive me all my sinnes *and* offenses, which I have commytted againste his diuine Maiestie, sythence the firste tyme of my birth, untill this present... I doe acknowledge *and* confesse *that* I ame a Priste of the Catholike *and* Roman Church, (I thanke God moste highly for it) and of the Societie of Jesus."⁸⁵

Then occurred an incident which was briefly mentioned by the early accounts, but was reported more at large, three years later, by Leake. The chaplain of the Tower took objection to Southwell's words regarding his salvation, and broke in : "You hould the decrees of the councell of Trent for authenticall ? — I do, sayd the father. — Theirin, sayd he, is decreed that no man shall presume to beleue that

⁸⁰ Fr. Garnet's *Italian letter*, f. 118b, § 5: "ne l'arrivò, sebene e uenuto in man mia, e presto lo manderò alla P. V."

⁸¹ Leake's account, *C. R. S.*, vol. v, p. 336.

⁸² But Leake may have been mistaken, for he also brings in here the dialogue on the Council of Trent, which from its very nature cannot have taken place before the beginning of Southwell's speech.

⁸³ Fr. Garnet's *Italian letter*, f. 118b, § 5. The quotation is from Ro. xiv, 8.

⁸⁴ Fr. Garnet's *Italian letter*, f. 118b, § 5: "perla cui pretiosa passione, e morte confido di hauerm' à saluare".

⁸⁵ These last words are placed by the *Breve Discourse* at the end of the speech, but in their present — and natural — place by Fr. Garnet's two letters.

he is sure to be saved, but is to doubt. If you beleieve to be saved, you contradict the councell; if you doubt (being to die) your case is hard; and you doubting, we must needs doubt."⁸¹ (But the people cryed out *that* he shou[ld] hould his peace). To whom Mr Southwell answered: "Good Mr minist[er], give me leave, and trouble me not, for Goddes sake lette me alone; notwithstandinge your words I dye a Catholike, *and* hope to be saved by the death *and* passion of our Saviour..."⁸⁶ As conserninge the Queenes majestie, God almightie knoweth *that* I never ment, or intended harm or evill againste her; I have daly prayed for her, and yet in this shorte tyme *which* I have to lyve, I moste humbly beseeche *and* desire Almightye God for his tender mercy sake, for his pretious bloode sake, *and* for his most gloryous wounds sake, *that* hee would vouchsafe, she may so use those giftes *and* those graces *which* God, Natur, and fortune, hath bestowed uppon her, *that* with them all she may both please *and* gloryfie God, advance the happynesse of our Country, and purchase to her selfe *the* preservation and salvation of her body and soul.

"Next I commend into *the* handes of Almightye God, this my poore Country, desiringe him, for his infynite mercies sake, to reduce it to suche perfect insight, knowledge, and understandinge of his trewth, *that* thereby they may lerne to prease and gloryfie God, and gaine to theire soules health, *and* eternall salvation. And lastly, I commend into the hands of Almightye God, my poore soule, *that* it would please him for his great mercie sake to conforme *and* strangthen it with perseverance unto the end of this my laste conflicte; And this poore body of myne as it shall please her Majestie to dispose thereof. And this I humbly desire almightye God that it would please his goodnes, to take *and* excepte [accept] this my death, the laste farewell to this miserable *and* infortunate lyfe (althoughe in this this [sic] moste happy *and* fortunate) in full satisfaction for all my sinnes *and* offences, *and* for *the* Comfort of many others; *which* [death] albeit *that* it seeme here disgracefull, yet I hope *that* in tyme to come it will be to my eternall glory."

"This speeche beinge ended, the hangman stripped him to his shirte, put the haulter about his necke *and* made it faste to the gallows... Beinge urged to aske the Queene mercie, to satisfie theire importunytie he sayd, yf I have offended the Queene with my commynge hether, I humbly desire her to forgette it: and this punishment layd uppe [upon] me for it, I take moste thankfully. God Almightye helpe me, the B[lessed] Virgine with all the Angells *and* Saints of heaven assiste ne; and I desire all Catholikes to pray for me, *that* notwithstandinge

⁸⁶ This incident is similarly misplaced both by the *Brefe Disourse* (which puts it at the end of the speech), and Leake (who puts it before the speech). Garnet's two letters put it in its natural place, which we have here adopted.

whatso ever may be said to trouble *and* distemper me in this Conflicte, I may yet this lytle while *which* I have to lyve, lyve a Catholik[e] and dye a Catholike. Sancta Maria, mater Dei, et omnes Sanct[i] Dei, orate et intercedite pro me." Then making the signe of the Crosse, he sayd: "In manus tuas, domine, commendo spiritum meum. Redimisti me, Domine Deus veritatis." (This he Repeted thrise) "Deus propitius esto mihi peccatori. Me expectant justi." Then makinge againe the signe of the Crosse he sayd, "In manus tuas Domine etc. Cor mundum crea in me Deus, et spiritum rectum innova in visceribus meis. Redde mihi laetitiam salutaris tui, et spiritu principali confirma me." Then making *the* third tyme [the] signe of the Crosse he sayd againe: "In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum etc."⁸⁷ At which tyme the Carte was softly drawne away, and because the knotte of the halter was put Righte behind his necke *and* very wyde, he remanyed hanginge alive a good space." "And having hanged a while the sherrif made a signe to the sergeants to cut the rope. At which their was a great confused cry in the companie that he praied for the Queene, "And therefore let him hang, till he be dead," sayd they"⁸⁸ "and the Lord Mountioye forbad him [one of the sherriff's officers] to cut the rope"... "And so he was not cut downe,"⁸⁹ but remained some time alive, "knockinge his breaste, and makeinge dyuers tymes as well as he coulde the signe of the Cross, turninge his eyes upp *and* downe, wide open, untill the hangman pulled him downewarde by the legges," "which was, Fr Garnet says, an act of unusual courtesy and humanity,"⁸⁹ "at which tyme he moste happely yealdinge uppe his blessed spirit, closed his eyes, *and* looked moste cheerfully."

Yet it is doubtful whether he was really dead, for "the hangman, the earliest relation says, receyved him in his harmes [arms] decently, as yet breathing." Together with his servants, he "carried him to the place where he was to be quartered, whereas others, as a rule, are dragged there cruelly."⁹⁰ When his body was disembowelled, an event occured, which struck the Catholic eye-witnesses as miraculous: "His holy harte leaped in the hangmanes hand, and also after *that* it was caste into the fyre. The people ware so muche moved with his Charitable endinge that no one of them (contrary to theire accustomed wont) did speake any evill word againste him. A Pursuivant standinge by sayd

⁸⁷ *Brefe discourse*, p. 15. Cf. for Southwell's dying words, which testify to his intimate knowledge of the Bible, Ps xxx, 6; L, 12-14; Luke, xviii, 13, 46 (Vulgate), and the office of Compline.

⁸⁸ Leake's account, *C.R.S.*, vol. v, p. 336.

⁸⁹ Fr. Garnet's *Italian letter*, f. 119^a: "cortesia, et humanità insolita".

⁹⁰ Fr Garnet's *Italian letter*, f. 119^a: "Il carnefice lo depose con gran riuerenza, e con le proprie braccia, e de' compagni lo portò al luogho doue douea squartarsi, doue tutti gl'altri sogliono fieramente strascinar per terra."

to one of his acquaintance, *that* he had deceyved him, for *that* he never saw any man dye better. A Protistant Lord wishe[d] that whensoever he dyed, his sowle might goe with his. A minister standinge by, sayd *that* he dyed with great charitie and *that* the other Minister did uncharitably, by givinge to [too] rashe iudgment againste him when (as aforesayd) he interrupted him. His head beinge cutte of, and by the hangman lyfted upp to b[e] shewed to the people, no one was hard to Cry "traytor, trayto[r]", as beforetymes they ware wont to doe, but passed the matter over with silence. His head was sette one the brige [on London Bridge] and his quarters one fower gates of London."⁹¹

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In the narrative of Southwell's death and execution, men and women again take life; the men and women of a society which is very imperfectly known to us through its literature — largely a literature of courtiers, which took little account of the deeper sources of the spiritual life of the people. Here we find the judges, conscientious officials, for whom the drama of a man's life and death, of his sufferings in this world and hopes of the world to come, was nothing but a matter of correct judicial procedure and rightly understood political necessity; the government police — handy tools for dirty work; the bigoted jury, London craftsmen and shopkeepers, with their age-long heritage of Lollard prejudice and hatred of Rome; the comparatively small group of firm-spirited and clear-minded Catholics, undaunted by persecution, unsoftened by official worldly-wisdom, fighting for what seemed, in their insular forsakenness, a forlorn hope, and yet trusting that they were at unison with the eternal scheme of things; and lastly the huge mass of the populace, whom Shakespeare despised, sympathizers at heart with the faith of their fathers, ready to cheer when Southwell bravely faced death, but swayed hither and thither by contrary feelings, by spiritual misgivings or patriotic enthusiasm, by lofty ideals or humble necessities; mostly left to their own lights, deprived of Catholic leadership, puzzled by the confusion of religious and political issues, ready to drift towards the paganism of the Court, or to let their devotional cravings satisfy themselves with Puritan earnestness and piety. And in the midst of that huge welter of conflicting thought and purpose, unmindful of possible misunderstandings, conscious of the perfect singleness and purity of his aims, Southwell serenely pursued his way; an Englishman fully, and a Jesuit no less fully; a gentleman and a sportsman both in

⁹¹ Apart from a few sentences inserted from other sources, and mentioned in the footnotes,, the whole of the quotations in the preceding pages are from the *Breve Discourse*, pp. 11-15.

the proper and figurative senses of the words; keenly alive to the slur put upon his name, in the eyes of the world, by the imputation of treason and the infamous punishment thereon following; ardently loyal to his Queen and country, to whom he wished the highest blessings that man's soul could receive; yet with his insular pride, his northern ruggedness, softened down and tempered by southern influences, by the refinement and courtesy of Italy, by the virile humility which was the ideal of Ignatius and his disciples; so that when he faced death, no overweening self-confidence was noticeable in him; but to the last he prayed that his frailty might be assisted, and with a child's trust in God's fatherly help, sank into death as a child might sink into sleep, "looking most cheerfully."

CHAPTER IV

THE RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND TO SOUTHWELL'S WORKS.

THE elements which go to make the whole of Southwell's literary work are many and various. He derived much of his rhetoric from the ancients or the Fathers, much of his imagery and preciousness from Petrarch or later Italian writers, much of what is most natural and spontaneous in him from his English breeding. Similarly, if we consider, not the outward form, but the substance of his poems, he is indebted for much to the practical philosophy of Greece and Rome, to Plato and to Seneca, to the Fathers again, to the liturgy of the Church, to the English poets of the Henrician school or even to his own contemporaries. But all these pale when compared with the most important feature of his literary personality, the religious spirit which he imbibed in the course of his Jesuit upbringing.

His writings, if taken in and by themselves, apart from their proper setting, will often appear meaningless, or at best, be half-understood. To find a key to their deeper sense, we must first of all undertake a study of the Jesuit spiritual methods and aims; methods and aims which, as a matter of fact, though they moulded Southwell's personality, did not in the least stifle it. The difference between the austere military character of the *Exercises* or of the *Rules* of the Society, and the sweetness of some of Southwell's own effusions, strikes a reader at the first glance. What we find in Southwell's works is an original interpretation of the spiritual ideal of St Ignatius. The distinctive features, both of this ideal, and of his expression of it, will best be realized, if we examine the prose devotions which were Southwell's first literary productions.

The main features of the Jesuit scheme of religious life should first of all be recalled here. Earthly perfection — the absence of sin — is the necessary condition of eternal happiness; and perfection can only be reached if man is prompted to it by a dominant feeling, the love of Christ. But neither feelings of real love, nor a conduct truly virtuous, are the fruit of a sudden and direct illumination, which transfigures the whole of a man's being, and leaves in him no stain of impurity. The Jesuit notion of spiritual progress is the very reverse of the Protestant doctrine of conversion. Perfection must be reached by a

patient everyday struggle; the most that one can hope is to sin less to-day than yesterday: it is even advisable to record one's spiritual improvement by means of diagrams, which show a daily advance.¹ Nor is true love of Christ a sudden rapture of the soul; it must be gained at the price of strenuous effort, step by step, though meditation and prayer. Now man should not be left to follow an uncertain and doubtful path towards the attainment of his higher ends. He must be guided along the safest way, and therefore provided with a spiritual method, which will leave no room to mere chance. Thus only will he be able to make use of the resources of his soul to the best possible advantage.

One of the most important elements of the Jesuit spirit is apparent here, its practical character, its belief in the value of rightly ordered action. Nor is this all; the method is only fruitful when it is applied strictly, and this a man left to himself is almost unable to do. It is necessary for him to have recourse to another man's spiritual guidance, and to relinquish into his hands the direction of his own will. Protestantism suffers no such interposition between the soul and God; each man is to derive light and inspiration from God immediately, and to stand erect and self-reliant among his fellow-men. Here again the Society of Jesus represents a conception of life wholly opposed to that of the Reformers. A true Jesuit should not trust to himself, but to his superiors; to him, they are truly God's image on earth; his will must submit to theirs; his attitude must be that of a soldier loyal to his chief, one of self-forgetfulness, self-effacement, humility and unquestioning obedience. The military character of the *Spiritual exercises* of St. Ignatius of Loyola, himself an officer once in the Spanish army, is what strikes one most on a first reading. The successive paragraphs, referring to successive actions of the mind or heart, are marshalled in regular array. No blandishments are offered as a lure to the soul; it is placed under stern discipline, and its very progress is prescribed with the strictness of service regulations. In striking contrast to the popular notion of the Jesuit rule as easy-going, he who performs the *Exercises* must grasp himself firmly, place his passions under violent compulsion. "It hinders one much [on the way to perfection], Southwell writes in one of his meditations, not to use violence against oneself, but to resist one's passions and other impediments to virtue in a sluggish and languid fashion, and to provide remedies which avail little. For the kingdom

¹ Cf. *Exercitia... spiritualia*, in *Thesaurus Spiritualis Societatis Jesu*, Avenione, F. Seguin, 1845, pp. 37-38. This is the edition used throughout for the purpose of reference. It need scarcely be pointed out that though the *Exercises* were written before Saint Ignatius of Loyola had even begun to think of the Society of Jesus, they already contained all that was essential in the creation of the new order, to every member of which they provided and still provide spiritual guidance.

of heaven suffereth violence, and the violent take it by force. And — note the practical consideration — experience shows that means however powerful are scarcely sufficient for one's amendment."²

And in fact Southwell did use violence against himself. Among his devotional exercises, quite a number present the same military appearance as the exercises of St. Ignatius of Loyola; they provide means of compulsion for a reluctant soul; they drive home in pitiless logic the unavoidable consequences of unrighteousness. They are lists of "incentiva," tabulated arguments, in numbered paragraphs. On a first impression, they seem to be coldly rational, to appeal to the mind more than to the heart. Thus Southwell exhorts himself to the strict observance of the Jesuit rule, by rehearsing "reasons" which we summarize for the sake of brevity; first, "ex parte religionis," on account of his position as a religious:

1. Because such a holy life requires such perfection of thee, that mere lukewarmness would anger God.
2. Because if thou sinnest in a holy place like the house in which thou art, thou deservest instant death.
3. Because thou enjoyest far better opportunities than others.
4. Because thou art placed in the company of holy men.
5. Because the Society of Jesus provides special means of sanctification.
6. Because thou shouldst not be a cause of scandal to other Jesuits and to secular persons.
7. Because thou shouldst not damage the reputation of the Society or set a bad example to others.

Then follow reasons "ex parte Dei", on account of God :

1. Because a religious who sins is like a traitor or an adulterer in regard to his holy spouse.
2. Because when thou sinnest, thou art unmindful of the benefits of God, who brought thee to the Society.
3. Because thou abusest people's alms whereon thou livest.
4. Because thou rejectest the inspirations of God and courttest damnation.
5. Because thou defraudest God of his expectations. He expected much from his vine; if it bear poisoned fruit, beware his wrath.
6. Because he called thee to such a holy and profitable "religion".

² Brussels MS., f. 20 b : "Multum impedit contra seipsum violentia non uti, sed passionibus aliisque impedimentis lente et tepide resistere, remediaque parum efficacia addere. Regnum enim Coelorum vim patitur et violenti rapiunt illud. Et experientia constat quod media quamvis potentissima vix ad emendationem sufficiant."

Then lastly. "ex parte tui ipsius," on account of thy own self :

1. Because thou hast sworn a solemn vow.
2. Because thou must not show dire ingratitude towards God.
3. Because any other man in thy place would no doubt make use of thy advantages.³

Too much should not be made, however, of the lack of devotional warmth which such *Incentiva* seem to betray. For one thing they may not be the outcome of Southwell's own private meditations, but notes taken of the advice provided by spiritual directors. Again, such an apparently lifeless form may have seemed to him to leave less room for the personal manifestation of that *ego* which he wished to suppress. Besides, that these are no dry abstract themes is shown by Southwell's prose effusions and poems, in which they are handled in quite a different style, and provide a source of intense emotion. Anyhow, we shall find as we proceed, that St. Ignatius' severe soldierlike spirit is only half congenial to Southwell; the latter's mood is more gently wise, more sweetly reasonable; though like the founder of his order, he believes in the efficacy and paramount value of action.

Act first, St. Ignatius might have said, and all the rest shall be added unto you. Compel yourself to do what you would do if your soul were truly pure, and your soul will become truly pure. Your outward attitude will react upon your inward disposition. Let your every act be ruled by the thought of the possible improvement it may bring to yourself or other men. And that your exertions may be truly fruitful, husband your powers; avoid idling or loss of time; keep your efforts concentrated, directed towards the sole aim you may possibly have in view.⁴ Thus the Society's primitive purpose ends in a practical conception of life, and this is clearly manifested both in Southwell's devotional works and in several of his lyrics, which for the sake of convenience we shall call the "wisdom" group. In the Brussels manuscript we find the following "universal rule" : "What thou canst do by thyself do not do through others, what thou canst do to-day do not put off till to-morrow, lastly beware of the smallest faults."⁵ The spiritual and practical elements are here so closely intermingled, as to become undistinguishable. Thus Southwell's Latin prose provides a clue to the inner meaning of such poems as *Times goe by turnes*,

³ This is abridged from fols 14^a-16^a of the Brussels MS. Similar lists of arguments occur on fol 17^b (*Quinque impedimenta perfectionis*), 17^b-19^b (*Meditatio de beneficiis Dei*), while many other passages are tabulated in the same style.

⁴ Cf. for instance *Exercitia Spiritualia*, p. 43 : "Vitandum est verbum otiosum".

⁵ Brussels MS., fol. 31^a : "Regula universalis : Quod potes per te ne facias per alios, quod potes hodie ne differas ad crastinum, denique cavere defectus minimos."

Scorne not the leaste, Content and rich, Losse in delayes. Who would at first sight interpret in a religious sense the last-mentioned poem, in which the name of God does not even appear?

Shunne delayes, they breede remorse;
Take thy time while time doth serve thee;
Creepinge snayles have weakest force,
Fly their fault lest thou repent thee.
Good is best when soonest wroughte,
Lingred labours come to noughte.

Hoyse up sale while gale doth last,
Tyde and winde stay no man's pleasure;
Seeke not time, when tyme is paste,
Sober speede is wisdom's leysure :
After-wittes are deerely boughte,
Lett thy forewytt guide thy thoughte...

Droppes do perce the stubborne flynte,
Not by force but often fallinge;
Custome kills with feeble dinte,
More by use then strength prevayling :
Single sandes have little weighte,
Many make a drowninge freight.⁵

The theme is by no means an original one; it embodies the practical wisdom of Antiquity, as fondly revived by the Renaissance, and might be paralleled in many a lyric of *Tottel's miscellany*. Yet Southwell's very choice of it is significant. In his eyes, it can be made to agree entirely with the Jesuit scheme, so long as it is interpreted in a spiritual sense, as in the fifth stanza. "Delayes" are no longer considered as "losse" here because they prevent the good management of a well-conducted daily life, but because they endanger the soul's progress towards perfection :

Crush the serpent in the head,
Breake ill egges ere they be hatched;
Kill bad chekins in the tredd,
Fligg, they hardly can be caught.
In the risinge stifle ill,
Lest it growe against thy will.⁶

Vanquish thyself even in the smallest things, so as to be able to perform great things; strive to subordinate thy own self-assertive individuality, thy own leanings or preferences, thy own sympathies or loves to God and to reason. Take no heed of any earthly happening except in so

⁶ *Losse in Delaye*, Grosart's edition of the complete poems, pp. 75-76.

far as it affects the fulfilment of the divine purpose : such is the Jesuit ideal of "indifference". Be God's will, and embrace God's will when in trouble, Southwell writes in a short meditation entitled *De voluntate Dei et immobilitate animi*,⁷ an immobility which is firmness, not sloth; which must, like everything else in St. Ignatius' scheme be translated into practical action. The outward man should be modelled on the inward man; hence a certain external behaviour and deportment, even a certain gait, at any rate a certain expression of the face, which are as truly Jesuit as the stiff bearing, lowering looks and thundering speech were typical of the extreme reformers in the middle and late sixteenth centuries. This attitude, both mental and physical, is repeatedly set up as a model for the writer's own imitation and improvement in Southwell's Latin devotional works. Its description for the benefit of a pious household is the crowning part of the *Short rule of good life* :

"In countenance, Southwell writes, I must avoid an unstayed kind of varietie and often change, keeping as neere as I may, one settled tenour thereof, rather bent to smiling than heavinesse, and free from frowning, and such like unseemely distemper : neither ought I to alter countenance but when reasonable and just cause moveth mee, to shew either mirth, sorrow, dislik or compassion, or some other modest and temperate affection.

"My gate ought to bee grave, neither too swift, nor too slow, but with a meane and sober pace; my gesture must be decent, free from affection or singularity, and from all shew of inward disquietnesse or unordered passion, which though I cannot chuse but sometimes feelee, yet it is good (as much as I may) to conceale it, because outward signes doe feede the inward distemper, and bewray to others my imperfections to my discredit, and their evill ensample.

"My voyce neither ought to bee very loud, nor my laughter so vehement, as to be heard afarre off, both seemely and modest; for excesse in the voice, and immoderate loudnesse, are alwayes certaine signes of passion... My speech ought not to bee so much, as to make me be noted for talkative; yea it is good to bee rather sparing in words, and readier to hear than to speake : but when occasion forceth unto much talke, I must speake deliberately without rashnesse or levity, avoyding overmany jests, especially bitter taunts and sharpe words...

"Mine apparell must bee free from lightnesse, or more gaudinesse than fitteth mine age, company or calling: it must bee decent and comely, not too open, nor with any unusuall or new fashioned dresses, that other grave persons of my quality and calling... doe not use : it must be handsome and cleane, and as much as may bee without singularity."⁸

⁷ Brussels MS., f. 42^a.

⁸ Southwell's works, edition entitled *St Peter's Complainte Mary Magdal. teares with other workes of the author R. S.*, London, Printed by I. Haviland, 1636, sigs. Ib- 2b.

Soberness, temperateness, moderation : once again Southwell's ideal, though inspired by purely religious motives, might almost be mistaken for that of the golden mean; yet that love, tender love of men and soul, not mere reason, lies in the background, is manifest from the concluding words of the passage :

"The vertues necessary in conversation are, modesty, decency, courtesie, affability, meekenesse, and civility, shew of compassion to others miseries, and of joy at their welfare, and of readinesse to pleasure all, and unwillingnesse to displease any."⁹

Nor is "moderation" merely a synonym for gentle and amiable charitableness. Outward composure, inward equanimity, may be the outcome of sterner, stouter virtues. There is often more real courage in mildness and humbleness, in gentle sufferance of hurt or evil, than in the poses of stoicism, or in prophetic ravings against the Lord's enemies. Nowhere is Southwell braver or pluckier than when he again recommends "indifference" to himself, in his exhortations for the time of sickness :

"1. These points be observed : to keep as far as can be done a serene countenance, inclined to cheerfulness rather than to sadness.

2. We must altogether beware lest we should betray through our words or gestures any sign of impatience.

3. To ask for nothing that is forbidden by the physician or in any way hurtful, and to eat those things which are offered for thy diet, as far as can be done. First let them know what thy appetite is, whether disinclined from food; if they insist on thy eating, eat as much as thou canst without any token of impatience.

4. To ask for nothing without necessity, to reject nothing without necessity.

5. When there is occasion to speak, always to prepare for it; and to think out in advance a way of making requests, in words that may lead to edification; and although that be somewhat difficult, it will do one good to constrain oneself in that matter.

6. Also to prepare for the time when thy brethren come and call upon thee; when they question thee on anything to answer cheerfully and gently, asking them to pray for thee; and to express thyself in a religious manner, as for instance when they ask how thou doest, to reply : "Better, or less ill than I deserve," "Well, by God's grace" etc...

7. If any one incite thee to speak more than is convenient or profitable, warn him lovingly in words to this effect as for instance : "I was too loquacious while I was in good health, therefore God has permitted that talking should now be distateful to me, and therefore I had rather listen to thee than speak."

⁹ Works, Sigs. X3a-b.

8. Never to speak of thy illness, nor to make use of such words as make matters look worse, but merely to state facts to the physician or any other qualified person, cheerfully and serenely; and to others not qualified, if they ask questions, to make as light of things as possible and turn the speech to some other subject."¹⁰

The constant recurrence of such adverbs as "serenely," "lovingly," "cheerfully," lends a touching colour to Southwell's interpretation of the rules of conduct of St Ignatius; while the beautiful peacefulness in which it is steeped brings us to a true conception of his "immobilitas animi." It must not be mistaken for motionlessness; it is but the perfect security and stability of the soul which trusts to God for its support, while engaged in an active and unceasing warfare against self. And yet while struggling against his baser impulses, Southwell, true to his Jesuit vocation, refuses to despise or spurn human nature as such. His compassionate heart is loth to condemn man's weakness, to detest that soul or even that body, which being God's image, are so truly beautiful and lovable. According to the principles of his order, human reality should not be ignored or suppressed, but taken into practical account; and why should it not be made to concur in the furthering of divine ends, since it can thus be transfigured? Man has no right to condemn himself, to make little even of his body, since it is the gift of God. Asceticism is not to ruin his strength, granted by God for heavenly purposes; nor to make him fall into slovenliness, which would make the sight of virtue offensive to his fellow-men. Note how Southwell insists on the pious layman's attire being "handsome" and "comely."

¹⁰ Brussels MS., fols. 32a-33a : "Recordanda in aegritudine."

1. Observanda ista. Seruanda quantum fieri potest uultus serenitas potius ad hilaritatem quam tristitiam propensus. [sic].

2. Cauendum admodum est ne verbis aut gestibus impatientiae signum monstremus.

3. Nihil a medico prohibitum aut vllo modo noxium petere, ea quae autem comedenda offeruntur quantum fieri potest comedere. Primo propones qualis sit appetitus an [?] alienatus a cibo, deinde si velint vt comedas sine ulla impatientiae significatione quantum potes comedere.

4. Nihil non necessarium petere, nec quicquam non necessarium repudiare.

5. Quando venit occasio loquendi semper praevidere et in rebus petendis modum praecogitare quo possis verba cum aedificatione proferre et licet difficile nonnihil sit, tamen sibi hac in re vim aliquam inferre iuuabit.

6. Praeuidere etiam tempus illud quo soleant ad te visitandum fratres uenire, illis te de re aliqua interrogantibus hilariter et suauiter respondere, illos rogando vt pro te orent, et vti verbis religiosis, vt interrogante quomodo valeas respondeas melius vel minus male quam mereor; bene per gratiam Dei etc...

7. Si quis te ad plus loquendum prouocet quam conueniat aut conducat eum amanter admoneas hoc aut [simili] modo ut [quia] fui nimis loquax dum bene valerem, ideo Deus permisit ut loqui mihi iam vertatur in fastidium et proinde te libentius auscultare quam loqui.

8. Non loqui unquam de tua infirmitate, nec vti verbis quae solent rem aggrauare, sed medico et ad quem spectat, hilariter et serene dicere, alijs autem ad quos non spectat interrogantibus quantum potes minuere et sermonem ad aliud quid conuertere."

Here the lofty ideal of the Society inspires wise rules of moderation, dissuades from excess even in devotion, joins hands with gentle charity, with the love of beauty, not of the spirit only, but of things and forms also; this combination is at the root of Southwell's spiritual life as well as of his poetical inspiration.

* * * * *

"Not too austere, nor too much inclined to sadness, but with temperate modestie rather composed to mirth than melancholie." To the reader of Southwell's lyrics, the word mirth seems to strike an unexpected note. Joy of a sort there is in *New prince, new pompe*, in the *Burning babe*; or we should rather say rapture; but cheerfulness there is none. In the "wisdom" poems, Southwell tries to school himself to a happy contentedness, but he does not achieve it; his "moderation" is not due to that felicitous balance of the faculties which leads to a smiling acceptance of the vicissitudes of life. He is indifferent to them because he soars higher; and because he cannot yet soar high enough, his poems are permeated, not with gladness, but with sadness, at any rate with a gentle wistfulness. He dwells by choice on the more doleful scenes of the life of Christ, on his forlorn condition in the garden of olives, on the Virgin Mary's unspeakable grief; he repeatedly reverts to the remorse of Peter, to that of Mary Magdalen. His soul feels like a stranger on earth, and he yearns for his heavenly home :

O life, what lets thee from a quick decease ?
O death, what draws thee from a present pray ?
My feast is done, my soule would be at ease,
My grace is said, O death come take away.¹¹

Many another musical line makes it clear : the mainspring of Southwell's spiritual life, and the main source of his lyricism, is not the uninspiring philosophy of the golden mean. It is passion, ardent and sincere, passionate humbleness, passionate remorse, passionate love; passion so keen, as to transcend the bounds set by the poet himself to the outward expression of his feelings, and to fall into that very excess which he seemed to be most desirous to avoid. There is a striking contrast between the "sobriety" which he proposes as a model to himself and the fire which sets his heart ablaze. That in joining the Society of Jesus he was not giving way to the force of indisputable arguments, but following the headlong impulse of his generous and loving nature, we have already made clear, when quoting the fervent prayer which he wrote at the age of fifteen. Nor do we find his

¹¹ From *I die alive*, *Complete poems*, Grosart's ed., p. 84.

devotion to his order to have become less ardent afterwards. He feels immense pride in being a Jesuit; he is full of the burning enthusiasm, of the unquestioning faith which filled the hearts of St. Ignatius and his companions in the chapel at Montmartre. He is the very embodiment of those early, heroic times of the Society, when its members were going out to reclaim and to rejuvenate the Church, to set an example to the clergy and laity at large, and to reap through their self-sacrifice the reward apportioned to their merits. The very day after he had taken his vows, Southwell wrote the following "articles," leaving no doubt as to the all-absorbing character of his vocation and the loftiness of his aims :

... "3. — Thou art made the fellow of Saints, a dweller in the house of God, a soldier in the army of Christ, a fragment in the corner-stone of the Church; thou art made a fisher of souls, a pattern of life and mirror of virtue to people in the world, a labourer in the harvest-field of Christ, a slave of his, never to be set free; a professed and public enemy of the devil, the world and the flesh; a guide to the blind, a staff to the lame, and everything to everyone.

"4. — Nothing that is, or can be in thee, or refer in any way to thee, canst thou henceforth call thine any more; neither thy memory, nor thy will; nor canst thou decide or reject anything for thyself; nor, unless it be by order of thy superiors, dispose of thyself, or of any other thing, how small soever it be; but thou art thus made to belong to God and his vicars, that full power over thee will be in their hands always, in thine own never.

"5. — Since thou art plainly bound with the same ties, as our blessed fathers Ignatius, Xavier, etc... and art of the same Society; thou art obliged to the same perfection, in so far as can be done on thy part... and therefore thou must always aspire to higher perfection.

"8. — Always carry thyself like a novice, with that fervour and humility, that reverence and modesty, which thou deemest to be requisite in a novice; and always remember the precept of the rule, namely, that thou shouldest inwardly think of all men as superior to thee, and endeavour to acknowledge God in each one, as in his image. What is more, deem thyself happy, when thou canst give help to any man in any permissible thing, and hast seized an opportunity of giving way to him. And in so far as it can be done, always choose for thyself what is of less price and worse, and leave the better part to others in everything."¹²

¹² Tanner, *op. cit.*, p. 32, col. 1 : " 3. Factus sanctorum socius, domûs Dei incola, in Exercitu Christi miles, in Ecclesiae petra fundamentalis lapis, factus es animarum piscator, Saecularibus vitae norma, & virtutum speculum; messis Chrisiti operarius, servus

Again, Southwell's passionate pride and happiness at having gained admittance into the Society find expression in the following meditation :

"How many there are, who, breathlessly sighing day and night, have no other thought, but how they may be admitted into the Society ! How often the happy state of those who are admitted comes into their minds ! How often they long for it with the whole ardour of their hearts ! How many there are who, spying thee, as thou walkest along the streets, break into tears as with a melting heart, seeing themselves deprived of the possession of such a good. But thou who enjoyest it, with what love thou oughtest to burn towards God ! how grateful thou shouldest be for such grace ! People in the world, when they see thee, because of the holiness of life, and of the virtue that must be found in a true son of the Society, reverence thee, and expect much more from thee, than from any the most devout secular person. Thou must therefore answer their expectations by thy deeds and thy works."¹³

One last passage will prove finally how far Southwell may stray from "temperateness" or even from ordinary commonsense. In his

illius insolubilis; Diaboli, Mundi & carnis hostis declaratus, & publicus; coecorum dux, claudorum bajulus, omnia omnibus.

4. Nihil quod est, aut potest esse in te, aut spectare ullo modo ad te, potes amplius posthac dicere esse tuum nec memoriam, intellectum, nec voluntatem : nec quidquam potes nolle aut velle de te; nec de te, nisi ex superiorum praescripto, aut de quoquam alio, aut re vel minima disponere : sed Dei vicariorum ejus ita factus es mancipium, ut plena tui potestas penes illos semper, penes te nunquam amplius, futura sit.

5. Cum iisdem planè nodis adstrictus sis, quibus B.P.N. Ignatius, Xaverius, &c, & ejusdem sis Societatis; ad eandem perfectionem, quantum ex parte tua fieri potest, obligatus es.... ideòque ad perfectiora semper aspirare debere.

8. Semper te ut Novitium geras, cum eo fervore & humilitate, eaque reverentià & modestià, quam in Novitio requiri existimas; & recordare semper illius quod Regula praecipit, scilicet, ut omnes in animo tuo superiores ducas, & Deum in unoquoque, ut in illius imagine agnoscere studeas. Imò tunc te felicem existima, cum tu illis ulla in re licita praestare poteris auxilium, & occasionem ulli eorum cedendi, aut succurrendi nactus sis; Et quantum fieri potest, viliora & deteriora pro te semper elige, potiores alijs in omnibus partes deferas."

Tanner may have had this meditation from another copy of the *Exercitia et Devotiones* which make up the Brussels MS. In the latter fols. 21^a-23^b the passage is headed : "Aliqua in die S. Lucae post emissà vota occurrentia," which fixes the date both of the text and of Southwell's vows. The meditation is also printed in Alegambe, *Mortes illustres S. J.* pp. 182-3, and in MORE, *Hist. Prov. Angl. S. J.* p. 178; but it looks as if he had been unable to resist the temptation of improving Southwell's somewhat slipshod school-Latin.

¹³ TANNER, *op. cit.*, p. 31, col. 1-12: "Quot sunt, qui suspirant anhelantes die noctèque, nihil aliud cogitant, nisi quà possint in Societatem admitti ! Quoties eis felix admissorum status in mentem venit ? Quoties eundem ipsi toto cordis affectu exoptant ? Quot sunt, qui cum te per plateas incedentem vident, liquefacio velut corde in lacrymas solventur, dum se tanti boni possessione orbatos vident ? tu autem, qui eo frueris, quanto erga Deum amore flagrare deberes ? quàm gratus esse de tanta gratia ? Saeculares cum te vident, propter sanctitatem vitae, & quae in vero Societatis filio reperiri debet virtutem, reverentur, et multo plus à te, quàm à devotissimo quolibet saeculari expectant. Factis igitur & operibus eorum expectationi respondere debes." This passage is also printed in Alegambe, *Mortes illustres S. J.*, p. 181 and occurs in the Brussels MS., ff. 30^b-31^a, under the title : *consideratio vocationis*.

eagerness to reach the "perfectio Jesuitae" he pushes devotion to the Society and submission to the will of his superiors, to their most extreme limits :

"...II. Although all the Fathers and Brothers, nay even the Superiors themselves should depart, and myself alone be willing to remain in the Society, I will be alone, and alone will die in it.

III. Though an angel should descend from heaven and bid me not remain in the Society, or if I should have but one single superior who would tell me the contrary, I would despise and reject the word of the angel and follow the judgment of that superior.

VI. Although the entire Society should be in opposition to the Superior in matters relating to his office, and wherein he, by authority and right of office, may and *ex officio* ought to determine and order, I will cling to him, although the contrary side should possess reasons however efficacious and plausible, and be supported by men the most renowned in the whole world for learning and piety. Yea, although the Superior himself should be a man in outh other respects wicked and nefarious."¹⁴

* * * * *

Behind the curtain of outward composure, a spiritual drama was being performed in Southwell's heart. Extremes were at strife there : at times the Jesuit's soul was all aglow with radiant hope, but at others he fell into the darkness of contrition, and became acutely conscious of his own nothingness. This unavoidable contrast between successive moods accounts for the striking difference in tone between the ecstatic raptures of *At home in heaven* and the sombre gloom of *A vale of teares* or *The prodigall child's soule wracke*. There is a correspondence between Southwell's passionate love of Christ, his wish to magnify the benefits received from his Lord, and his own need of fierce self abasement, one might almost say of fierce humbleness. The following lines are typical :

"What was I, O Lord ? what am I ? and what shall I be ? I was nothing; I am nothing; and perhaps I shall be worse than nothing. I was conceived in original sin ; I am full of actual sin ; and who knows but I may be condemned to the pains of hell ? I was wretched

¹⁴ Tanner, *op. cit.*, p. 33, col. 1-2.

II. Licet omnes Patres, & Fratres omnes, etiam Superiores essent egressuri, & praeter me nullus in Societate esse vellet; ego solus essem, & solus in ea morerer.

III. Etsi Angelus de coelo descenderet et mihi diceret, non esse in Societate manendum; si vel unicum haberem superiorem, qui ut superior mihi contrarium diceret, spreto & rejecto Angeli sermone, judicium superioris sequer.

IV. Etsi Societas tota esset contraria Superiori in rebus ad illius officium pertinentibus, & in quibus ille ex potestate, & ex jure officij statuere et ordinare posset, & ex officio

in my entrance; I am wretched in my progress;; I shall be wretched in my going out. I was a filthy seed; I am a bag of offal; I shall be the food of worms. When I was nothing I was out of the danger of damnation, and without hope of salvation; now I am in doubtful hope, and grievous danger ; and I shall be either happy in the thing hoped for, or most unhappy if the danger takes effect. I was such that I could not be damned ; I am such that I can scarcely be saved ; and I shall be such as to become either damned for ever, or saved for ever. What I was I know, that I was most wicked; what I am I do not know, being uncertain of grace ; what I shall be I am ignorant of, being doubtful of salvation. What I was, O Lord, forgive; what I am, amend ; what I shall be, guide ; guide, I say, from past evil, in present good, towards the eternal reward. Amen."¹⁵

Here the general tone is dark; nor can it be doubted that Southwell's pure, noble soul often fell into despondency; nor was he unacquainted with temptation or remorse, remembering always what he considered as sin; for according to him, the smallest fault, the smallest disregard of the rule, was a crime in a religious. No thought was more unbearable to him than that of having been the prime mover in other men's misdeeds. "Read this often, he writes, and grieve from thy heart :

"Consider intently, and groan while considering, how many have been made, with thy consent perhaps or thy help, slaves of the devil, enemies of God, and liable to eternal damnation; among whom perhaps some having died without repentance, and being with the devil given up

justè deberet, adhaererem illi, etsi contraria pars & rationes efficaces, & quantumvis apparentes, & praeterea viros doctrina et pietate totius Civitatis clarissimos haberet : imò etsi superior vir aliqui sceleratus & nefarius esset..."

The translation we give above is from Foley, p. 316. The passage also occurs in ALEGAMBE, *op. cit.*, p. 184, and in the Brussels MS., fol. 68^a.

¹⁵ TANNER. *op. cit.*, p. 34 : "Quid fui domine ? quid sum ? et quid ero ? fui nihil; nihil sum; & ero forte nihilo pejus. Fui conceptus in originali peccato; sum plenus peccato actuali; & quis scit an ero [sic] condemnatus poena gehennali ? fui miserabilis in ingressu; sum miserabilis in progressu; miserrimus ero in egressu. Fui sperma foetidum; sum saccus stercorum; ero esca vermium. Cùm nihil essem, fui sinè periculo damnationis, & sinè spe salutatis; & jam sum in spe dubia, & graui periculo; ero aut ex re sperata foelix, aut ex periculi successu infelicissimus. Sic fui ut damnari non possem; sic sum ut salvari vix possim; sic ero ut in aeternum damnatus, aut in aeternum salvus. Quid fuerim, scio, quod fui pessimus; quid sim nescio, quia de gratia incertus; quid ero, ignoro, quia de salute dubius. Quod fui, Domine ignosce; quod sum, corrige; quod ero dirige; inquam dirige, à malo praeterito, in bono praesenti, ad proemium futurum, Amen." This piece is also found in the Brussels MS. Fol. 68^a, with some textual differences; also in ALEGAMBE, *op. cit.*, pp. 183-184. It is noticeable for its coarse realism, which is repugnant to Southwell's naturally refined taste, and for its plainness and directness, which leaves out all ornaments of style, and does not even respect grammatical correctness (e. g. "quis scit an ero") It looks if, in the present case, Southwell had deliberately constrained himself to use a mode of expression distasteful to him, as a means of self-abasement.

to the eternal and doleful torments of hell, are now suffering for thy sins, cursing that day when first they saw thee, and calling down God's vengeance upon thee ; while others who are still alive, provoking God by perpetual misdeeds, pile up for themselves more causes of damnation. What then shalt thou do, O most unhappy of men, how canst thou ever be solaced, and not rather be moistened with perpetual tears ? How shalt Thou render account to God for those souls which owing to thee, are deprived of the benefit of his blood and passion ? Weep then, thou wretched man, over thyself, and do penance."¹⁶

This strain of pathetic sadness runs through the whole of Southwell's verse and prose ; now it is wrapped up in a Dantesque gloom, and now softened down to pity by the thought of Christ's sufferings and love; but it is there always. Nor is such a mood a subject for surprise, when we think of the circumstances of the poet's life. A Catholic, he was born in the hour of defeat, and almost of despair. His "poor country" was lost for the faith, and constancy under persecution, or in exile, seemed the only possible hope. Like his Catholic countrymen, he was bound to wonder what had brought down upon them such an apparently undeserved fate. The answer was that they must atone for the sins of their forefathers, for the laxity of morals in the Church in the early XVIth century, for time-serving and cowardliness under Henry VIII, for the pagan revelry of the first classical Renaissance. Nor would Southwell's feeling be such merely because he was an Englishman, but even more so because he was a Jesuit. Saint Ignatius' *Exercises* are permeated with the same sorrowful contrition for the past. Hence the prevalence of the theme of remorse, in the works of a poet who was naturally averse from sin, who had experienced no actual "conversion," and whose very real spiritual tragedy was not due to personal causes, but merely reflected the overpowering sense of woe which oppressed his contemporaries. The endless, tiresome conceits in *Saint Peter's complaint* might give rise to misgivings as to the writer's

¹⁶ Brussels MS. fol. 37b : "Considera cum attentione, cum consideras ingemisce, quam multi te fortasse aut consentiente aut adiuuante serui diaboli, inimici Dei, et aeternae damnationis rei facti sint, quorum fortassis aliqui sine poenitentia emortui in aeternos et lamentabiles inferni cruciatus cum diabolo adiudicati nunc tui peccati poenas luunt, infeliciter diem illum quo te primo uiderunt exsercantes et supra te vindictam à Deo postulant. Alij vero qui adhuc supersunt perpetuis Deum flagitijs provocantes maiorem sibi damnationem accumulunt. Quid igitur facies omnium infelicissime, quomodo potes nunquam consolari et potius perpetuis lacrimis non rigari, quid respondebis Deo pro animabus istis per te sanguinis et passionis ipsius beneficio priuatis. Defle igitur, miser te et poenitentiam age...

It is obvious of course that this is a devotional "exercise", as shown by the title, "Saepe lege et cum dolore cordiali." Southwell here repeats the lessons of his masters, and gives expression to the remorse of man in general, not of himself in particular. And yet there is no doubt about the genuineness and sincerity of the feeling.

sincerity, but there is no possible doubt as to the genuineness and depth of the feeling which inspired the *Prodigall chyld's soule wracke*.¹⁷

Yet the thought of lasting, irretrievable damnation, the horror of final despair, could find no place in Southwell's loving and trustful heart. While he laments a recent fall, he humbly, and still confidently, thrusts himself upon Christ's infinite mercy: "Thou knowest, O Lord, he exclaims, my wretchedness and my frailty, thou knowest that suddenly after my resolve, like a dog I return to my vomit, but alack for me, what shall I do, if I am not worthy, o Lord, to sit down, like a dog, and pick up the crumbs which fall from thy table. Those, o merciful God, deny me not, and albeit I deserve them not, deign to grant me. I know well that I am more than wretched, but what shall I do? Thou knowest how willingly, in this very moment of my speaking, I should shed my blood and yield up my life, so that I might not displease thee any more. Aid, o Lord, and succour me, for with the help of thy grace I promise to start anew, and to keep myself in the future free from any stain of sin."¹⁸

There is a childlike artlessness about those lines, a touching familiarity with God. Yet there were moments when moods of a more manly kind were called for, because actual sin, however slight, engendered dejection, or because the fountains of spiritual effusions were for the moment dried up. He would then face "tribulation" with a stout heart:

"Fight manfully and keep up thy spirit. Thou knewest well that thou couldst not endure without tribulation, and experience has proved to thee that forthwith it flies away, when thou standest thy ground ever so little. Lo God is trying thee, his own gaze is upon thee, while with all those of the Society thou art struggling against the devil, who longs for triumph in this fight; God is nearer than thou thinkest, be not afraid and therefore do not despair. Remember how often thou wert in the same plight, and how all those things passed away; why then should tribulation trouble thee now present, more than at other times in the past? thou knowest that when the head is crowned with thorns, it is not meet that the limb should be squeamish. Thou thyself, who

¹⁷ Quoted below, chap. x.

¹⁸ Brussels MS., fol. 36a-b." Tu nosti Domine miseriam et fragilitatem meam, tu nosti quod subito post propositum tanquam canis ad vomitum redeo, [Prov. xxvi, 11] sed hei mihi quid faciam, si non sum dignus Domine tanquam vnus ex filiis tuis assidere mensae dulcedinis tuae [Cf. Luke xv. the prodigal son], ibo saltem tanquam canis et micas quae de mensa cadunt accipiam [Mark, vii, 28; Matth., xv, 22] Has bone Deus noli denegare, quas licet non merear dignare tamen concedere. Scio ego quod sim plus quam miser, sed quid faciam, tu nosti quod libenter nunc in hoc ipso quod loquor tibi vitam meam et sanguinem effunderem vt tibi amplius non displicerem. Adiua Domine et succurre, quia iam te fauente statuo de nouo incipere et imposterum me ab omni macula et peccato conservare."

now art in trouble, wilt rejoice in half an hour's time, over the defeat of temptation. Wherefore be not willingly downcast, do not for such reasons give up anything of the serenity of thy face, of thy deportment, of thy speech; for if thou doest so, repentance will succeed, as it has often done, because thou knowest thy resolves to the contrary. Stand fast therefore, and appear the same as ever, in all those things which have to be done ; and if this present temptation do not forsake thee so soon as thou wishest, yet it will at last depart. Trust therefore in thy own self, and do not worry, but commend thyself to God, and thy devout friends of the Society; and when thou hast borne that trial thou shalt receive in Heaven the crown of glory."¹⁹

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We have now come to what is most distinctive and most admirable at the same time in Southwell's devotional writings, especially in some of his shorter lyrics : his tender lovingness towards Christ, Mary, and all holy persons. God is so real to him, he is so human and present, that he may be considered as a personal friend, and addressed with a mixture of gentle reverence and tender intimacy; and the same applies to the Virgin, to the Angels and the Saints. The poems, as well as the *Devotions* of Southwell, give the impression of a personal intercourse, a personal contact with Jesus and his mother. Many scenes of their lives, in the *Maconiae* especially, are interpreted with such ardent sympathy in joy and sorrow, such lively and affectionate compassion, that the poet seems less to imagine them, than actually to witness them present. This was no doubt due to Southwell's innate English bent, which made it natural for him to bring down sacred persons and objects from the realm of the abstract, and clothe them with human flesh and blood. But here the Southern temper, which must needs give a material shape and strongly contrasted colours to its spiritual notions, strangely agrees with English realism. The method embodied in St Ignatius' *Exercises* makes a constant use of vivid images, raised in the mind

¹⁹ Brussels MS., fol. 28ä.b : "In tribulatione. Concerta fortiter et animosus esto. Sciisti te non posse sine tribulatione consistere, et expertus es quod si parum resistas statim fugit. Ecce Deus te probat, ipse cum Societatis omnibus te cum inimico diabolo qui per hanc concertationem superare desiderat colluctantem intuetur, et propior est quam putas, ne timeas igitur ne desperes. Recordare quoties in eodem statu fuisti, et quomodo omnia transiuerunt : cur igitur et nunc presens tribulatio magis quam caeterae te molestat. Nosti quod sub capite spinoso non conuenit esse membrum delicatum. Tu ipse idem qui nunc sentis molestias post mediam horam devicta tentatione laetaberis. Vnde noli voluntariè te deijcere, nec ideo aut vultus aut gestuum aut sermonis suauitatem serenitatem omittere. Quia si hoc facias vt ipse saepe es expertus postea poenitebit quia nosti te saepe contrarium proposuisse. Resiste igitur et eundem in omnibus quae agenda sunt te monstra : et si haec tentatio te non tam cito relinquat, tamen tandem discedet Crede itaque tibi et noli curare sed Deo te commenda; et Societatis tuis deuotis, quia cum probatus fueris recipies in coelo coronam gloriae."

through the action of the will, and apt to produce the corresponding emotions. As a preface to each one of the prescribed meditations, he who performs the *Exercises* should bring himself to see as if actually present before him, the scene which is to provide food for his thoughts, as for instance Hell, or Heaven, or some episode of the life of Christ ; while the corresponding feelings are aroused, love, or remorse, accompanied with plentiful tears,²⁰ ("petamus... abundantem fletum"), joy, or grief for Christ's sufferings. In the meditation on the Incarnation, a vision of the whole world gradually narrows down into the image of Mary's humble home at Nazareth, "as if the whole circuit of the world, in which so many diverse peoples dwell, were open to thy eyes ; then thou shouldst turn thy glance towards a certain part of the world, the small house of the blessed Virgin at Nazareth, situated in the province of Galilee"²¹ ("Compositio loci"). The Nativity is to be imagined down into minute detail, every one of the five senses being applied to a perfect material realization of the scene ("Applicatio sensuum") ; for instance, "an inward sense of touch must handle, must warmly kiss the clothes, the surrounding objects, the footprints, and other things joined to such persons."²² The feelings thus produced by an inward view of material objects should be fostered by external means, the circumstances which gave rise to a certain emotion being as far as possible, remembered and reproduced. That Southwell's spontaneous effusions should have been nourished by such means, so as to mature into an almost personal affection and concern for holy persons, seems hardly open to doubt.

Nor was it only the poet's own particular mood in the expression of his devout feelings which found encouragement in Jesuit discipline. His pure, self-denying and tender soul was naturally prone to embrace that love of God, which the Society considered as the prime mover of man's pious efforts. It should be remembered here, though, that while the Jesuit spiritual method was in many ways original, in this particular respect it had had more than one forerunner. St Ignatius owed much to the fifteenth century mystics of Spain and other countries; his indebtedness to the *Imitation* is well-known. When insisting that the love of God should be the starting-point and the main element of man's religious life, he was reviving the chief doctrine of the Franciscans, whose ascetical writings were, in fact, in great favour among

²⁰ *Exercitia Spiritualia*, prima hebdomada, p. 53. All the particulars mentioned here in regard to Saint Ignatius' spiritual method are borrowed from the *Exercises*.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 79 : "perinde ac si pateret terrae universae ambitus, quam habitant tot diversae gentes. Deinde ad certam mundi partem domuncula spectetur Beatae Virginis, apud Nazareth in provincia Galilaeae sita".

²² *Ibid.*, p. 79 : "per internum tactum attrahere ac deosculari vestimenta, loca, vestigia, caeteraque personis talibus conjuncta."

the early Jesuits. Southwell was at one with his order in this respect. The source of his prose poem on *Mary Magdalens teares* was an anonymous fragment possibly composed by St Bonaventura, at any rate by a writer of his school and in his style ; and he turned into his own native tongue a lengthy mystical treatise penned by one of Loyola's countrymen and contemporaries, the Franciscan friar Diego de Estella. The English title of this work is *A Hundred meditations of the love of God*. The bulky size of the book — five hundred and fifty octavo pages — and the labour which Southwell expended over it, show that he deemed it of great importance. He may have written his translation while at Rome, or postponed it until he found leisure for it at Arundel House ; but the original must have been known to him quite early, and the influence of Estella's devotion upon his own must have been considerable.

There is, however, a curious discrepancy between the work of the Spanish friar and his own mystical outpourings. The first seventy Meditations are not in the nature of effusions ; they take up a point of doctrine, and by means of successive questions and answers, investigate every one of its consequences. The very title of the book, however, gives the lie to such apparent dryness. True to the Franciscan ideal Estella selects love alone among all the attributes of the Godhead, as the theme of his disquisition. God's love is made the mainspring and almost the sole element of religion ; His justice and wrath, His skill and constructive purpose as the architect of the universe, his support of the righteous, and even the virtues of faith and hope, are left in the background. Stress is laid on the New Testament, especially on such passages as I Cor. 13, and on the inferiority of the old Law. In the eighty-sixth meditation, God is addressed in the following words : "In former times Thou wouldst be feared, because those base hearts of servants could not be raised to such generosity of mind as to love Thee, which is proper to brave minds and noble hearts."²³

The creation of the universe was an act of love. This love was no less manifested in the Incarnation : but Christ's passion itself is a mere trifle when compared to what God would have suffered willingly out of his love for man's soul : "If, as Thou wert hanging in terrible pains those three hours on the cross, it had been needful to have hanged there till the Day of Judgment, and to have suffered new torments and a longer time, Thou hadst love in store for all, and to have performed all..."²⁴ God, indeed, is thirsting for man's love, and seeks it by every possible means : Even those that offend Thee and fly from Thee, Thou seekest incessantly and gently callest them."²⁵ God wishes to be loved

²³ *Hundred Meditations*, ed. by John Morris, London 1873, p. 442.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

and love is in fact the only requital that man can make for the numberless benefits showered upon him. All created beings set an example for him : "So amiable art Thou, O God, that of all things, yea, such as want sense, Thou art in this manner beloved; for what else are inclinations of natural things but a kind of love whereby they are carried towards Thee..."²⁶

Because God is supremely good, true and beautiful, love is due to him gratuitously and irrespective of any promised reward : "Thou oughtest freely, O my soul, to love Him Who hath freely bought thee, giving the price of thy redemption without any desert of thine to be redeemed. Desire thou nothing else besides, seeing He alone is sufficient for thee... O Lord... I love Thee as much as I can, and all that possibly I am able, and yet for all this I am discontented with the little that I love Thee, for I would willingly have an infinite power infinitely for to love Thee. Put the case, though it is impossible, that I might be in glory enjoying the sight of Thy divine essence, and yet have Thy displeasure, or, burn in hell, and suffer all the pains that the damned souls do, remaining in thy friendship : I would rather choose to be tormented in the bottomless pit of hell, enjoying Thy divine favour, than to possess Thy glory and have Thy displeasure. All my glory is to have Thee contented, and my hell to have Thee offended with me."²⁷ What other joy, indeed, might the soul seek but the love of God ? The love of creatures brings forth none but deceitful, transient, and bitter fruits. "When we love the world we undo ourselves and defile us with many sins ; we are vexed with a thousand cares and wearied with great miseries, because we have not settled our love where we ought to have done, and then we enjoy the greatest peace and quietness of mind when we love the chiefest good, which is God."²⁸ Again and again, Estella insists, not so much on the ugliness of the world, as on its inability to provide real satisfaction for the soul.

The love of God is the only element of moral life ; it supplies the part which the Protestants assigned to faith. It is identical with man's will, and evidenced not merely in pure feeling, but also in action. It is equivalent to a "well-ordered will" — these words help to realize how much Southwell owed to the Franciscan spirit, when writing his "wisdom" poems or his *Short rule of good life*. Yet, the practical-mindedness of Estella and his translator are but a consequence of their glowing devotion, which finds expression again and again in the latter part of the *Meditations*. Estella desires union with the Godhead, to the extent of suffering any hardships to obtain it, of sacrificing his

²⁶ *Ibid* p. 265.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 13 & 11.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 221.

life, and even of renouncing his free-will, rather than suffering the slightest decrease of the heavenly love in his breast. The same yearning for the sight and compaigny of God is one of the most striking features of Southwell's devotional writings, especially some of the *Saint Peter* poems, *Life is but losse, Life's death, Love's life, I die alive, and What joy to live* :

For that I love, I long, but that I lacke;
That others love I loath, and that I have....
They loving where they live, long life require,
To live where best I love, death I desire..²⁹

Love indeed, ardent, passionate love of the unseen, yet ever-present Saviour, love responding to love, love which makes death appear the supreme joy ; which more than any reflections on the "aerumnae," the labour and troubles, of this world, makes earthly life appear a tedious exile ; such is the inspiring motive, from end to end of the poet's life, from the first line to the last of his devotions, effusions, and poems. It is, even more than remorse, the true source of his lyricism. As soon as it appears in his private devotions, the dryness of the "considerations," the gloom of "tribulation," vanish to make room for vivid imagery, for an unaffected, delightfully simple and natural love dialogue between the soul and her heavenly spouse ; the poet's real youth made younger still by purity of heart—yet aglow with the fire, anxious with the anguish of real passion. As for others earthly love, here heavenly love makes the poet. And the poet is revealed in some of the Latin prose effusions, which were for private use only, better even than in those of his early works which were meant for the public, and professedly literary in tone. Together with true devotion, true contrition, there is exquisite tenderness in the following lines :

"Christ follows thee, and cries, "Wait until I come, and I shall heal thee ;" and urges thee now by his love, now by his warnings, now by his inspirations; and yet all this time we flee, all this time we stop our ears, so that he becomes wearied with his journey, and must perforce give it up, because he cried and he was not heard, he ran and he did not seize, he sought and he did not find; so that at last he was wearied with his journey, and sat down. And why o Lord didst thou sit, why didst thou not rather punish my ingratitude ? But thou sittest like one that waits without hope. Follow, o Lord, follow me ; or if thou wilt sit, make me to sit next thee, and thou wilt give me living water that it may put out the fire of my passions, and wash me, o Lord. Lo here I come, receive me o my God."³⁰

²⁹ *What joy to live*, in *Complete poems*, Grosart's ed., p. 85.

³⁰ Brussels MS., fols. 35b-36a : "Christus te insequitur clamans expecta me donec veniam et curabo te, [Matth. viii, 7] et nunc amore nunc minis nunc inspirationibus

Another prose fragment, from Southwell's early meditations, is even more delightfully poetical, if a trifle precious :

"A turtle-dove, content with a single spouse, if he be lost seeketh not another ; but she will be seen persistently and tirelessly performing the task of holy widowhood, and she will be spied everywhere sighing, everywhere alone nor ever sitting on the green bough. Add that her frequent abode is on the crest of mounts or on the topmost trees. Do not therefore suffer thyself to be excelled in love, or in whole-hearted faith, by a turtle-dove; and thy spouse, to wit Jesus Christ, being done to death by thy sins through the hands of the Jews, seek not another ; but the rather governing thyself by the example of the turtle-dove, let thy sighs bewail thy widowhood, turn thy spirit from the green bough, and from human consolation; and abide in the dwelling-places of the eternal mounts, and heavenly seats, among the choirs of angels ; for if anywhere in this world, thou shalt find rest in that perfect contemplation."³¹

The former of these two passages is a touching variation on the theme of the woman of Samaria at Jacob's well. In the latter, which is scarcely less scriptural in character, the sweet gracefulness of the image is closely akin to the tender faithfulness of the feeling. In both Southwell's juvenile personality, in its devotional as well as in its artistic aspect, already appears as surprisingly rich and mature.

Yes it is, as yet, incomplete, and who would wonder at it ? What we may call his weaker side is for the present uppermost ; not meaning thereby that stalwart, even heroic qualities, are not lying hidden beneath the surface all the while. From the study of the above-quoted pieces,

incitans, et tamen tamdiu fugimus, tamdiu aures obturamus, vt cogatur relinquere fatigatus ex itinere [John, iv, 6, the woman of Samaria; cf. also *Dies irae*, "Quaerens me sedisti lassus."] *eo quod clamavit et non est exauditus* [Ps. xxii, 2] *cucurrit et non apprehendit, quaesivit et non inuenit* [Luke, xi, 9] : *ita vt tandem fatigatus esset ex itinere et sederet* [*Vide supra*]. Et quare Domine sedisti, cur potius non puniisti ingratitudinem, sed sedes velut expectans sine spe : Sequere Domine Sequere, uel si sedere uis, fac vt ego sedeam ad te, et des aquam vitae [John iv, 10] *quae extinguat ignem passionum mearum, et lauet me, Domine Ecce venio suscipe me Deus meus*"

³¹ Brussels MS., fols 30^a.b : "Verus amor. Turtur compare uno contenta, quo amisso alterum non admittit, sed sanctae viduitatis opus strenue et infatigabiliter exequentem vbique singularem, nec vnquam in viridi ramo residentem perspicias. Adde quod in iugis montium et in summitatibus arborum frequenter illi conuersatio est. Non ergo te in amoris fideique integritate à turture superari permittas, et compare tuo nempe Jesu Christo et Iudaeis mediantibus tuis peccatis occiso, tu alium quaerere noli, sed turturis potius exemplo ductus viduitatem tuam gemebundus deplora, à viridi ramo, et humana consolatione animum auerte, et in montium aeternorum, caelestiumque sedium habitaculis inter angelorum choros conuersare, quia si alicubi in hoc mundo, in illa perfecta consideratione requiem inuenies". Southwell's early transmutation of his thoughts, even purely intellectual, into images, is shown in another meditation, *Natura et gratia*, where human nature is compared to a vine and divine grace to a prop. Note that the part assigned to man's nature in that combined action is far from being contemptible. (Brussels MS., fol. 30^a.).

the features of Southwell's moral portrait, towards the close of his Roman years, gradually fall into shape. He is a very young man still, and not one of those in whom an overflow of animal spirits is translated in jolly companionship and a love of physical activity. His sickly health largely confines him to his own company : hence an early reflective bent, and energies mostly turned inwards. Hence also his almost feminine sensitiveness, his obvious partiality for the smaller virtues, for perfection "etiam in minimis ;" the delight he takes, when writing, in neatness of form, in prettiness, in daintiness, his over-ingenuity in expression. Hence, lastly, the fact that as yet, for him, the drama of life was acted entirely within himself, as a struggle between an excessively scrupulous conscience, and his trust in the love of God. The expression of his face, as far as it is known to us, is pervaded with the same feeling of half-diffident humbleness. In the beautiful Fribourg portrait,³² which clearly dates back to the last part of his stay at Rome, his features, though strongly marked, lack that firm and set appearance which denotes self-reliance ; the chin is distinctly weak ; the cheeks are drawn downwards, with lines that reveal care, and also a certain natural hesitancy, which it was of course his aim and his glory as a Jesuit to conquer ; the lower part of the face suggests a dull weariness. All the life is concentrated in the large, dark, eyes. Their gaze is not lost in that conventional rapture of adoration, which makes most portraits of saints alike and uninteresting, but very strikingly and naturally abstracted; they intensely, yearningly, pathetically long for something beyond present reality.

From that mystical contemplation of things above, Southwell was suddenly brought down upon earth, and compelled to face the hard facts of a particularly trying everyday life. Other qualities now appeared, which had been lying dormant. No doubt he was to show preference, up to his death and in his very death, for virtues of a passive rather than active type, humbleness, obedience, soberness, endurance, fortitude; virtues silent and self-denying. Yet these are virtues of the strong only; how much more truly sublime than the gaudy pageantry of Elizabethan paganism, its worship of self, its boisterous love of action for its own sake, its brute physical daring, its unbridled sensuousness ! Besides, when Southwell's character had hardened, he showed that he too was gifted with fighting courage, though always in a Christian way and according to the spirit of his order. For, indeed, his life and writings all point to the same unavoidable conclusion: he was, first and foremost, a Jesuit, both in the eagerness of his youth,

³² A portrait formerly in the Jesuit College at Fribourg. A crayon of this portrait by Mr. Charles Weld is preserved at Stronyhurst College, and reproduced as a frontispiece to *The Book of Robert Southwell* by Chistobel M. Hood, and to the edition of *the Triumphs over death* by John William Trotman.

in the patient thoughtfulness and energy of his missionary labours; in his practical view of life and his "wisdom" poems, in his love of Christ and passionate lyrics; in his devotion to the welfare of souls, and in his prose and verse generally, of which the sole purpose is the furthering of Christian truth. A Jesuit also, as we said above, because he takes human nature into account with its mixed features, and attempts to raise, not the upper half of man only, but the whole of man, to superior regions. Like those of his order, he is truly human, and therefore also, in the full sense of the word, a humanist. Nothing which is of man is foreign to him, least of all literary beauty. How he tried to achieve it, "for the greater glory of God," it will be the task of the following chapters to describe.

CHAPTER V

A JESUIT NEO-CLASSIC

The influence of the Society of Jesus upon Southwell the writer was twofold: its ardent piety no doubt fanned his poetical flame into a blaze; but at the same time, his lyricism was to some extent, during the former part of his career, damped into frigidity by the literary theory which the Jesuits had evolved. The latter was part of the plan of action through which they sought to extend their influence to every branch of human activity, art being of course included. It was practical and utilitarian. It made no attempt to innovate, but following the directions of the Council of Trent, struck the easier path, and confirmed the classicism of the Renaissance, while attempting to make it morally harmless; but the very fact that it banished "passion" from literature and tried to substitute methodical reflection for inspiration, explains why it took the heart out of those very forms of poetry to which it sought to give new life.

The *Ratio studiorum*, which was being prepared while Southwell was a student at Rome, and embodies the experience of the first forty years of the Society, makes it clear that neo-classicism was the main prop of the educational edifice which was being raised: "It was thanks to the help of those [classical] studies, rather than that of the higher faculties, that the Society was rapidly propagated in the main parts of Christendom; nor can it be better or more firmly maintained in those parts, than by that same branch of knowledge, on account of which it was first admitted."¹ The *Ratio* then proceeds to exhort the members of the Society not to fall into "Barbarity" and to preserve that "noble ornament [of classical culture] with which God has deigned to honour the Society." Practical rules are laid down accordingly. Among candidates to membership or teaching offices, those must be

¹ *Ratio studiorum et Institutiones Scholasticae Societatis Jesu.*, collectae. a G. M. Pachler S. J. (*Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica*... herausg von Karl Kehrbach, vol. 5, and 11) Tomus II, p. 144 (from the *Ratio* of 1586) "Tandem horum studiorum adminiculo potius, quam superiorum facultatum Societas breui propagata est in praecipuas orbis Christiani partes: neque in ijs melius ac firmitus conseruari potest, quam iisdem artibus, ob quas initio admissa fuit..." The *Ratio Studiorum* was begun in 1581, while Southwell was a Scholastic at the Roman College; but the *Constitutions* first published in 1558 stressed the necessity for the Scholastics to cultivate their style. (*Constitutiones Societatis Iesu*, Antverpiae apud Ioannem Mevrsivm, 1625, p. 165, § 13).

preferred who, other qualifications being equal, "excel more in humanities"; while even the teachers of theology are scarcely to rank above the professors of "inferior sciences," i. e., of classical letters.²

Such professors were to be found in all Jesuit colleges from their foundation; Southwell came under their influence at the Collège de Clermont. Whether he attended their classes at the Roman college or not, the whole atmosphere of the place would work upon him. Jesuit neo-classicism was ever present in the daily life of the scholastics at Rome; it was especially manifested on solemn or joyful occasions, such as liturgical feasts, anniversaries, distributions of prizes, visits of the pope or cardinals; and then the professors and students would vie with one another, in composing "orationes" or "carmina" which gave proof of the purity and elegance of their Latin. Very few facts have come down to us concerning the presence at the Roman College of the great theorists of Jesuit poetry. Whether Southwell knew any of them personally is uncertain, but he may quite likely have come into touch with one of the most notable among them, father Benci, better known as Franciscus Bencius.³ This father was an Italian, born at Acquapendente in 1542. He had studied at Rome for seven years under the famous Antonius Muretus, who after belonging to the old school of Renaissance humanists, had become in his latter years a "convert" to the Jesuit view of literature as a handmaiden of religion. Bencius himself was instrumental in Muretus' conversion, and induced him to break off with the freedom of a worldly life and to seek ordination as a priest. The pupil later became a master himself, and after joining the Society as a novice in 1570, taught eloquence at Siena, Perugia and Rome. He had become a professor at the Roman college by 1573, first teaching classics for six years, then rhetoric, in which work he apparently continued until his death in 1594. He was at the Roman College all through Southwell's stay there, and apparently in a position

² *Ratio Studiorum*, ed. cit., p. 145 : "Quare in vestibus, in cubiculis, in libris, alijsque rebus necessarijs nihil fere intelligatur esse discriminis inter istos et illos Professores... In ijs, qui vel in Societatem cupiunt admitti, vel admissi iam ad Superiores facultates profutendum promouendi sunt, alijs (si caetera valde imparia non sint) praeferantur, sedulo etiam quaerantur ij, qui literis humanioribus magis excellunt."

³ The fullest biographical source for Bencius is Alegambe, *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Jesu, Antverpiae*, M.DC. XLIII, which unfortunately dwells more upon the religious than upon the literary side of the life of the Jesuit professor. Cf. also De Backer-Sommervogel, vol. I, col. 1285 sqq. Those two works have supplied us with several of the particulars mentioned here. As to Bencius' professorship at the Roman College, cf. in the Archives of the Society of Jesus two catalogues of the Roman province, dated 1579 and 1584. The former has the following mention of Bencius : "Docuit litt. hum per sex annos legit Rhet."; the latter confirms the initial date with these words : "legit Rhetor. 9 annos." I was able to obtain these extracts from the archives owing to the kindness of Fr. Newdigate, S.J. and Father Kleyser, S.J. It is to be presumed that in the catalogue of 1584, the nine years of rhetoric include the six years of humanities mentioned in the catalogue of 1579.

of high esteem. He took part in many public ceremonies, and on November 8th, 1584, recited before his colleagues and students a Latin poem *On the best means of enjoying a quiet life*.⁴ By that date Southwell, who in his "wisdom" lyrics was to handle kindred themes in the same spirit, had left for the English college; but it seems likely that their paths had met in the preceding years. Anyhow, the influence of such men as Bencius upon the English Jesuit cannot be doubted; what it mostly consisted in, we shall now attempt to show.

The documents available for such a purpose are not to be sought before or during Southwell's student years, but after. It would indeed have been more gratifying to be able to state definitely that he had known before himself setting to work, such or such a treatise on poetry or eloquence. But this is impossible, and the reason is a simple one. Literary theories only take a formal shape in set tractates years after their first appearance, when they have already been alive and at work for a long period. Southwell's Roman years were still for the Society of Jesus, in respect of its literary activities, years of adjustment and stress. The time for stocktaking, for analysis, for conclusions, was still somewhat ahead. It was only in the last decade of the XVIth century that critics supplied sets of rules, extracted from the literary practice of the last fifty years. Bencius, Possevinus, Pontanus, all began to legislate on poetry at the same time. Pontanus⁵ is the most typical and noteworthy of the whole group of lawgivers, because he wrote, not detached fragments or jumbled remarks on various authors or "genera," but a real, deliberate "*Ars Poetica*," his *Poeticæ Institutiones*.⁶ All of them however will help us towards a fuller understanding of the Jesuit ideal, theory and plan in regard to the use of poetry.

* * * * *

Of course, even between Jesuit critics there are individual differences of temperament; but on one point all are strikingly agreed. Poetry, they say, like painting or music, like artistic beauty in general, is not an end in itself. Its position is subordinate. Indeed it may give

⁴ *Carmen quo quaeritur quae sit optima ratio tranquillioris vitae instituendae*, in Franciscus Bencius, *Carmina, libri quatuor*, Ingolstadii, 1592, liber primus, p. 1.

⁵ Jacobus Pontanus (Spanmuller), born at Bruck in Bohemia in 1542, became a Jesuit in 1562. He was a professor of humanities and rhetoric for 27 years and died at Augsburg in 1626. He does not appear ever to have been connected with the Roman college and I have been unable to find out whether he came to Rome, but he had begun the series of his published works, all on the art of writing, as early as 1573, and anyhow he is but the most typical mouthpiece of a doctrine which was to prevail in the Society for nearly two hundred years. Cf. De Backer-Sommervogel, vol. vi, col. 1007 sqq.

⁶ The first edition of this work dates back to 1594 (Cf. de Backer-Sommervogel, vol. vi, col. 1011) and is entitled: *Jacobi Pontani Societatis Iesv Poeticarvm Institutionvm*

pleasure; but that pleasure is not to be cultivated or enjoyed for its own sake; it is only legitimate in so far as it is made to serve the cause of virtue or religion, to concur in the greater glory of God. Horace had left the door open for future controversies, when ambiguously writing in his *Ars Poetica* :

Aut prodesse volunt, aut delectare poetæ.⁷

The Renaissance, the quattrocento, had laid the stress on the second verb; and now the art critics of the Counter-Reformation threw it back on the former. For Pontanus, who quotes the line, "delectare" is subsidiary to "prodesse." What we must consider, he says, is not whom the poets represent, what story they tell, what play they act ; but to what end, in what mind, for what reasons... Let us define poetry, he adds, an art which represents the actions of men, and sets them forth in verse, for the better ordering of man's life."⁸ And Possevinus states no less clearly : "The first purpose of the poet must be, to make his reader better; his second only, to delight him."⁹ The true nature of poetry therefore is not really artistic; its main element is not beauty or charm, but wisdom. It is a branch of moral philosophy. "Let the poet, Pontanus says, borrow as much as he may need from the masters of morals, so that "of writing well the source and fount be wisdom."¹⁰

Why then, it may be asked, should poetry exist at all ? why should writers trouble to indite in verse instead of adopting the purely didactic method of philosophers ? Because some concession must be made to the fallen condition of human nature, which is not strong enough to abide the nakedness and severity of eternal truth. Moral principles are like a bitter draught that the patient will not swallow unless it be sweetened. "Let the poet, Pontanus writes, teach duty in the following way : he should thoroughly reject all divisions, definitions, reasonings; and by means of a most adorned diction, and most beautiful examples, either first imagined by himself, or amplified, illustrated and somehow

libri III... Ingolstadii; ex typographia Davidis Sartorii, 1594 (8vo) The edition we shall refer to here is that of 1595, which bears the same title, with the following addition "editio Secunda emendatio." (8vo) The printer was Adam Sartorius.

⁷ *Ars Poetica*, 1.333.

⁸ PONTANUS, *op. cit.*, p. 6 : "Non quem imitentur, quid narrent, quid agant poetæ; sed quamobrem, qua mente, quibusque rationibus, hoc intuendum est..." p. 5 : "Sit ergo poetica, *Ars*, hominum actiones effingens, easque ad vitam instituendam carminibus explicans."

⁹ Antonii Possevini Societatis Iesv Tractatio De poesi & Pictura ethnica, humana, & fabulosa collata cum vera, honesta, & sacra. Lugduni, M.D.XCIII. p. 474 : "Poetis autem hoc maximè propositum esse debeat, ut Lectorem reddant meliorem : secundo loco, ut delectent."

¹⁰ PONTANUS, *op. cit.*, p. 14 : "Assumet igitur poeta quantumcunque opus fuerit à magistris illis moralibus....vt scribendi rectè, sapere sit & principium & fons." (This last line from Horace, *Ars poetica*, 1.309)

fashioned anew through ingenious fictions, he should rouse in turn various motions of the soul, and either entice, or carry away the readers or spectators whither he pleases. Hence it is, that wise men have asserted that poetry is some kind of philosophy, cloaked over with the covering of fables."¹¹ Should those words not appear clear enough, the Jesuit critic expresses his thought even more explicitly a few lines further on. If the poet, he says, is intent on "delectare" instead of merely "prodesse," it is "to gratify the vulgar, who are always fonder of pleasant than of useful things, and easily spurn wholesome doctrine unless it is besprinkled with charms and delights of many kinds."¹²

It appears clearly from the above why the Jesuits welcomed the literary discipline of classicism, and even improved upon it. For one thing, it tallied with that ideal of well-ordered life which the Society had made its own. Besides, if the chief purpose of art be to edify, if outward beauty be only a concession to vulgar minds unacquainted with the higher, unsullied splendour of naked spiritual truth; if the poet be like an apothecary, who prepares wholesome drugs for humble, ignorant patients, and cheats them with the sugared coating of his bitter pills; why then! there must be formulae for those drugs and pills, — that is, for the automatic production of artistic emotion. The poor innocent folk will be carried away, though unaware of the means used; but the enlightened, superior few know how such effects are produced; they know the tricks, they know the "rules." For the word is out at last: a literature which is merely meant to achieve a coldly-calculated result cannot be other than a literature of "rules." An Italian writer, Giuseppe Toffanin,¹³ has clearly shown the process through which Aristotle, after dominating the theology of the Middle-Ages, was unceremoniously requested in the sixteenth century to lend the weight of his authority to the new, moralizing conception of literature. His *Poetica* supplied all requirements: from it were extracted both a statement of the ethical purpose of poetry, and the laws which were henceforth to regulate the work of the poet, now a craftsman in the true sense of the word.¹⁴

¹¹ *Ibid.* pp. 14-15: "Eoque modo officium docebit, vt divisiones, definitiones, rationationes, interrogationes, funditus repudians, compositissima oratione, exemplisque pulcherrimis à se vel primum excogitatis, vel ingeniosis fictionibus amplificatis & illustratis, & quodammodo conditis, etiam diversos animi motus misceat, & lectores siue spectatores vel alliciat, vel rapiat, quo placuerit. Hinc est, quod viri sapientes poesin quandam esse philosophiam, fabularum involucris tectam asseruerunt."

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 17-18: "vulgo gratificantes, cui semper iucunda magis quam vtilia sunt in amoribus: & quod salutarem doctrinam nisi leporibus & oblectamentis multis respersam facile aspernatur."

¹³ Cf. GIUSEPPE TOFFANIN, *La fine dell' umanesimo*, Torino 1920.

¹⁴ ARISTOTLE'S *Poetica* of course applied to the drama, and so did the rules more or less justifiably extracted from it; but the same legislating spirit which enforced the rules was to prevail in other branches of literature as well.

What room could be left in such a scheme for the ardent breath of inspiration? Of course it would have been too preposterous to deny it altogether, and it was coldly and guardedly mentioned in the opening pages of literary treatises. But no sooner had the concession been made, than it was withdrawn. The Sybils, the prophets, all those who seemed to be possessed with some divine fury, might well, as in Benci's *Orationes*, be praised — in the past.¹⁵ But according to the same writer, the ideal, for the young scholar of the Roman college, was to imitate illustrious classical models

mid leisure fair,
Which brings no storm to trouble placid life.¹⁶

Pontanus is even more positive; for him the enthusiasm, the sublime madness which carries the poet away should be avoided at all costs. It is advisable on the contrary to set about the work of composition with "a mind appeased, a mind emptied of any other cares whatever, released and free from any anguish or emotion. For a distracted spirit can in no wise perform its task fitly and properly."¹⁷ And just as religious emotions can be fostered by the "compositio loci," a suitable environment should produce the necessary detachment of the soul and freedom of the mind: "Such places, as those where we find a pleasantness alluring for the senses, forests, gardens, groves, country farms, where trees break into leaf, where wines ripen, where fields yield bountiful crops, where

down the rill
The trembling water swiftly flees.¹⁸

In other words the poet must carefully refrain from indulging in those emotions which he tries to awaken in others. Though some shrewd truth may lie hidden in such advice, nevertheless the real source of lyricism is ignored. And Pontanus betrays his total lack of understanding of what poetry really means, when stating that Ovid's *Tristia* rank below his other works, because, he says, they were composed, not in pleasant surroundings, but in the unpropitious dreariness of his sad

¹⁵ BENCIUS, *op. cit.*, p. 114-115.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, *Carmen quo quaeritur* etc., concluding lines:

"...otia pulchra
Quae placidam nullo perturbent turbine vitam..."

¹⁷ PONTANUS, *op. cit.*, p. 40 "Vnum est, mens pacata, mens alia quavis sollicitudine vacans, angore & perturbatione omni soluta prorsus atque libera. Animus distractus, nulla in re munus suum fungi probe, ac decenter potest..."

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 41: "Illi loci, in quibus est sensibus blandiens amoenitas, sylvae, horti, memora, ruscula, vbi frondescunt arbores, pubescunt vites, segestes largiuntur fruges, vbi obliquo laborat lympa fugax trepidare riuo..." The last words from Horace, *Carmen* III, ad P. Dellium, l. 11-12.

exile.¹⁹ The discreet versifier whom Jesuit critics substitute for the "vates" is of course nothing but a good Jesuit applying his efforts to a certain type of work, while remaining inwardly true to the ideal of his order. "Passion" is out of the question, and so therefore, is inspiration; "self" is to be suppressed, and so, therefore, lyricism, which is so largely the expression of self.

As a matter of fact, Pontanus makes a distinction between two faculties, "ingenium" and "judicium," — inspiration, creative genius on the one hand, and judgment on the other. The latter, he says, is immeasurably superior;²⁰ for the poet, in his peaceful retirement, is not to be compared to a painter, whose work takes shape in a flash of creative light, but to a patient craftsman who fills in a mosaic, choosing one precious stone here and one precious stone there. Neither the material nor the pattern are his own; both are supplied by classical antiquity. For imitation, Pontanus says, is his chief task; not the imitation of nature indeed, but of suitable Latin or Greek models.²¹ After providing himself with a sufficient supply of words and expressions — "*conquirendum prius rerum ac verborum supellectilem*"²² — the poet will drill himself to the use of the material thus acquired through a series of exercises, from which inspiration is wholly banished. The sense remaining the same, now the phrasing will be different, and now the language used; now again the "genus" selected;²³ the whole culminating in the least original form of poetry, in which "judicium" has completely ousted "ingenium," the cento, made up wholly of elements borrowed from one or several authors, as in those prayers to God or the Virgin Mary, in which every single line is taken from Virgil.²⁴ However, no acknowledgement is to be made, and this plundering of ancient writers is to pass for original work; for Pontanus concludes with this delightfully naïve remark: "We must strive with all our labour, so that those things we spoke of, appear not theirs, but ours; though where we took them from, learned men cannot be unaware."²⁵ In other words, if the Jesuit critic is to be understood literally, the only task open to the poet is the manufacture of patchwork pieces, for the refined delight of connoisseurs, and for the wonderment of the vulgar.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* p. 41.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, see the whole of Chapt. XIII, pp. 42-45.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. III, and Chapt. X, pp. 28 sqq.

²² *Ibid.*, Chapt. XII, p. 38.

²³ *Ibid.*, Chapt. IX, pp. 24-28.

²⁴ *Antonii Possevinì Societatis Iesv Tractatio De Poesi & Pictura ethnica, humana, & fabulosa collata cum vera, honesta, & sacra...* Lvgdvni, Apvd Ioannem Pillehotte, 1594, pp. 480 (*cento quid sit*), 503 and 504.

²⁵ PONTANUS, *op. cit.*, p. 32: "*Omnis labor eo impendendus, ne, quae dicimus, illorum, sed nostra videantur: quamvis doctos viros, vnde illa hauserimus, non fallat.*"

He is forbidden to strike a personal line. The *Ars poetica* is but a cookery-book, with recipes for the manufacture of beauty, "the straight and easy path to Helicon;"²⁶ the poem a disguised sermon, with "ornaments" awkwardly tacked on in places : "Let us lay on purple, sprinkle flowers."²⁷ Patience, discrimination, taste even, are allowed to the poet; but imagination, invention, originality, are denied.

* * * * *

Such is the literary theory, which certainly inspired the teaching of Southwell's Jesuit professors, both at the Collège de Clermont and at the Roman college. A repellent and absurd theory indeed, which is the very negation of poetry, thus stripped of its life, robbed of its very soul; yet one which was to meet with such success in Jesuit educational circles, that it came to be generally considered as the official and current doctrine of Jesuit art. According to this doctrine, poetry was not the expression of anything really deep in the spiritual life of man; the part assigned to it might be brilliant, but it remained that of a menial. Yet it was not in the power of any cut and dried principles to stifle the love of beauty and the natural emotions that are inborn in the human heart. Even Jesuit professors of "rhetoric" (which included both prose and verse) were unable to take such a coldly utilitarian view of art as Pontanus. In all fairness be it said, and with no mean praise, though still widely removed from the theory of "art for art's sake" some of them had a notion of the value of beauty as such. Take Bencius, who was at the Roman college all through Southwell's years there, and whose influence was paramount upon many generations of students. He does believe that poetry has a favourable effect upon man's conduct; not merely, however, because it conveys artfully veiled advice, but because its charm has a soothing effect upon the passions. He is transported with this thought, and breaks out into verse :

Do greed, and coveting, set thy heart afire ?
We know some words, and sounds, will soothe thy pain
And drive away most part of thy disease.
Art swell'n with love of praise ? But chastely read
Some booklet thrice, and peace restores and heals.
The envious, angry, sluggish, — tipplers, lechers,
Are none so fierce, but may not soften, if
To verse refined they lend a patient ear.²⁸

²⁶ *Ibid.*, sig (2^a) : "Verum et commodum ad Heliconem iter."

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 26 : "Fucum addamus, flores inspergamus."

²⁸ BENCIVS, *op. cit.*, p. 113 :

Feruet auaritia, miseroque cupidine pectus ?
Sunt verba, & voces, quibus hunc lenire dolorem

But poetry does not only share, and more than share, music's soothing influence upon the heart of man; it does more, it inspires, it elevates : "It seems to be some divine force, which lifts up the spirit of man, so as to mingle it with the heavenly choirs."²⁹ Its excellence, its dignity, its beauty, "may never enough be praised, will never be praised according to their worth."³⁰ It must be defended against its detractors, who attack it on the ground of its appeal to the senses, "those headlong men, who inveigh against her with insolent abuse, and fear not to defile themselves with such a monstrous parricide."³¹

For Bencius, the moral efficacy of poetry is less a justification of its existence, than a confirmation of its proper value. The delight derived from literary composition is not merely to be tolerated on account of its improving purpose, but to be enjoyed for its own sake. That "liquida voluptas," it is true, is not inebriation; it is more like the conscientious satisfaction of the skilful workman; yet it is some sort of an artistic pleasure all the same. And one is glad to reflect that if Southwell's early poetical development was cramped by neo-classical "rules" and prescriptions, on the other hand Bencius may have imparted to him some of his genuine, though oratorical, enthusiasm for those "elegantēs et ingenuae artes,"³² some of his love of pure, perfect form, of smooth, easy verse, "flowing like a tranquil and crystalline river, without any ruggedness, without tortuous bends."³³

Note that Bencius, in his *Orationes de laudibus poeticae*, does not merely praise poetry; he defends it — and this is not a sham fight for the sake of rhetoric, but a real one — against those who would now condemn it altogether, because the Renaissance writers had turned it to wicked uses. He scouts the notion that it is only the unworthy servant of religion. Not a servant indeed, but a sister. Does not its sublimity join hands with that of eternal truth? Is not the "vates" divinely inspired? That lifting upward of poetry and indeed of the whole of

Possis, & magnam morbi depellere partem.
Laudis amore tumes? Sunt certa piacula, quae te
Ter pure lecto poterunt recreare libello.
Invidus, iracundus, iners, vinosus, amator,
Nemo adeo ferus est, vt non mitescere possit,
Si modo culturae patientem accommodat aurem.

This is of course a commonplace of antiquity, ever since Orpheus charmed the wild beasts; the difference from Pontanus is none the less notable.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 114 : "Poëtica videlicet ipsa divina quaedam vis est, quae extollit hominis animum, vt superum plerumque choris immisceat..."

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 117 : "Nunquam laudatae satis, nec pro dignitate laudandae..."

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 92 : "...praecipiti homines... qui in illam... contumeliose inuehuntur, nec verentur se tam immani parricidio inquinare."

³² BENCIVS, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 42 : "Vt sedatum & dilucidum amnem, sine salebris & vllo anfractu fluere..."

man, in so far as every man is to some extent a poet, is far truer, wiser and nobler, far more akin to Southwell's real spirit, than Pontanus' distrust of human nature, of its love of beauty, of its ardent emotions. Poetry, then, being truly divine, can be no other than Christian; it was Christian in classical antiquity, despite all appearances to the contrary; and the continuance of classical forms in the future will be no hindrance to its being more definitely Christian than ever. To the proving of this double and, in part at least, paradoxical thesis, Bencius devotes a large part of his *Orationes*. His demonstration is worth reproducing, for it explains the curious, and sometimes preposterous way, in which the Jesuit professors and writers, and Southwell himself among others, attempted to adapt the poetical lore of pagan ages to the needs of a newly-reformed Catholicism.

First, the invention of metrical speech is to be ascribed, not to Orpheus or other classical characters, but to the writers of the Old Testament.³⁴ Bencius goes the length of stating that Moses composed a song in hexameters, and that whatever chronology may have to say to it, David wrote his psalms long before the appearance of any Greek hymnographer.³⁵ In the Bible and out of the Bible, the Jesuits insist on the considerable mass of non-pagan poetry which is actually extant. Yet the great heathen classics are the soul of humanism, and they cannot be ruled out. But why should one be afraid of them? Do not their writings evidence their sense of the supernatural and divine? Are they not to be compared to the worshippers of the unknown God at Athens? What is more, are there not many among them who school us to virtue and piety? In that respect, all Jesuit critics are agreed to give the first place to the serious, God-fearing and virtuous Virgil, "the chief of Latin poets,"³⁶ "the choir and dance leader, as it seems, of all others."³⁷ His moral qualities earn him admiration and praise; he has more "judicium" than Homer,³⁸ he "nods" less frequently³⁹: "what fulness and richness in his speech, what weightiness in his thoughts, what dignity and beauty in his words!"⁴⁰ Besides, in his fourth eclogue, he clearly sings the glories of the Virgin mother and the infant Christ.⁴¹ What is true of him is also true of others in a lesser degree. Bencius lavishes praise on Catullus' *Epithalamium* of

³⁴ Cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 93 sqq.

³⁵ Cf. *Ibid.*, Liber Secundus, Caput xxxi, de Hymno, pp. 142 sqq.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 31: "Poëtarum latinorum imperator."

³⁷ BENCIVS, *op. cit.*, p. 115: "Qui coryphaeus quidam & praesultor videtur esse ceterorum." Cf. also p. 117: "Fulgor ille poëtarum, & Romani magister eloquij."

³⁸ PONTANUS, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

³⁹ *Ibid.* "Virgilius rarius dormitat."

⁴⁰ BENCIVS, *op. cit.*, p. 105: "Quanta sit orationis vbertas, quae pondera sententiarum, quanta dignitas speciesque verborum..."

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 115-116, and POSSEVIN, *op. cit.*, p. 488.

Thetis and Peleus, the brilliant "ornaments" of which, he says, "bring to the readers marvellous delight, joined with equal profit,"⁴² and "implant in their souls the love of virtue, and the desire of glory."⁴³ Glory beside virtue! here the old and the new humanism are curiously blended, and the mere fact that the two words appear here together casts a flood of light on the process of assimilation which the Jesuits were engaged in.

In one respect, however, there is a line of cleavage between the Jesuit critics and the theorists of seventeenth century classicism. The fervour of the latter has clearly cooled down; for them, religion has ceased to be all-absorbing and all-important; they feel, or pretend to feel, such awe-stricken respect for it, that they keep it confined to the temple, and refuse to consider it as supplying suitable matter for literary composition; they allow its place to be taken by the frigid inventions of a dead and unmeaning antiquity.⁴⁴ The former on the contrary have no intention of lending a new and unnatural life to the beliefs and manners of pagan ages; they do, indeed, take over the whole of the classical vocabulary, and even make a free use of non-Christian names for Christian characters and objects; they turn to their own convenience all the stage machinery of ancient poetry; but the subject must be Christian: "Who would not be moved, Bencius writes, by those things which happen after death, even though they be known to be feigned, the boat's journey across Acheron, the dull roar of Cocytus, the barking of Cerberus, the sight of men's shades, that dark and precipitous place, the monstrous, bottomless pit of Hell, and lastly that trial, that each man must stand before most stern judges, alone in the midst of a huge multitude. If those things have great power, as they certainly have, to teach and move our spirit, how much greater weight, how much greater authority, are to be found, where we know that the most absolute truth resides? in what holy singers, with conceits clearly inspired from Heaven, have indited to the praise of the only God, and of things divine?"⁴⁵

⁴² BENCIUS, *op. cit.*, p. 117: "Tam multa habet ornamenta artis intimae, quae miram afferunt voluptatem legentibus, cum pari vtilitate coniunctam."

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 118: "Earumque rerum... quae... ingenerant amorem virtutis, & gloriae cupiditatem in animis..."

⁴⁴ Cf. in BOILEAU'S *Art poétique* the passage beginning: "De la foi d'un Chrétien les mystères terribles..."

⁴⁵ BENCIUS, *op. cit.*, p. 98: "Quem non permoueant illa post mortem, etiamsi ficta esse credantur, transuectio Acherontis, Cocyti fremitus, Cerberi latratus, vmbrarum aspectus, locus ille obscurus & praeceps, immanis & nunquam explebilis vorago inferorum, illa denique quae erit vnicuique pro se apud senerissimos iudices maxima in corona hominum, caussa dicenda? Quod si haec magnam habent vim, vt certe habent, ad erudiendos animos & commouendos, quanto maius in iis inesse debet pondus, grauiorque auctoritas, quae scimus esse verissima? in iis etiam quae ad vnus Dei laudem, ac rerum divinarum, sacrosancti pepererunt vates conceptu plane divino..."

The whole passage had to be quoted here : it will soon help us to realize how closely Bencius' advice, or advice similar to his, was followed by Southwell. The same author's choice of Christian subjects for his *Carmina* is especially striking : *De Christi domini precatone in horto*; *De imagine Deiparae* (the latter word betrays the humanist); *De beatissima virgine*; *De eadem in coelum ascendente*; *De Sancta Maria Magdalena*; *Ad effigiem Christi redimiti spinis*; *Ad Christum, dum cruci suffigitur*.⁴⁶ That Southwell took the lead from such masters is clear enough in a general way, from the fact that he chose kindred subjects for his English lyrics. But there is an even more surprising coincidence which seems indeed to be something else than a mere coincidence : among a list of themes which he recommends for Christian hymnology, Pontanus includes a series of poems on the various liturgical feasts of the Virgin Mary, which is exactly similar to the Virgin "cycle" in Southwell's English poems.⁴⁷ Here again the Jesuit appears as true to the spirit of his order.

* * * * *

Both the genuine love of beauty of some of the early Jesuits, and the utilitarian view of poetry held by others, were to have a real influence all through Southwell's poetical career, the former gradually gaining the upper hand. They are however best illustrated in his Latin poems. These were written while their author was still a very young man, and are largely to be considered as college exercises. Yet they should not therefore be summarily dismissed; for, as well as the Latin devotions, they are a fitting introduction to the English works, the qualities of which they already foreshadow. Nor are they lacking in merits of their own. Southwell's classical studies had not been wasted; for while he had obediently subjected himself to the literary drill prescribed by his masters, he had come to realize the proper value of ancient poetry, and to understand its harmonies. In his Latin pieces therefore, he appears as endowed with a capacious and retentive memory, a knack of imitation, a musical ear; his "*supellex verborum*" is a rich store of idiomatic phrases, and like Bencius, he has a nice sense of the balance and proportion of the line. On the other hand, his range of metrical forms is a limited one, and he already betrays less desire to vary the music of the verse, than to use its narrow limits to the best advantage, for the ingenious expression of his thought.

His Latin compositions belong to three distinct "genera," the epic, the elegy, the epigram. The first of these suited his temper but ill, and his juvenile attempt to emulate Virgil's grander vein ends in utter

⁴⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 165, 177, 177, 180, 184, 184, respectively.

⁴⁷ Cf. PONTANUS, *op. cit.*, pp. 151, 152, and *infra*, chapt. x.

failure. It was indeed preposterous to handle the themes of the Assumption and Pentecost in the style of the *Æneid*. The former subject lent itself to the expression of tenderly or rapturously devout feelings, of enthusiasm, of loving bliss. Yet Southwell merely makes it the occasion for servile imitation of some of the Latin poet's coldest and most conventional descriptions and allegories. The poem *De Assumptione* opens with a few lines on the Creation (ll.1-6), but our first parents are soon forgotten, while Southwell describes the garden of Eden (ll.7-27) in a pastoral vein strongly reminiscent of classical pictures of the golden age. Then we are briefly informed that Lucifer (this pagan name being naturally preferred to that of Satan) has made Adam and Eve the slaves of the Stygian court. Pluto raises his victorious ensign, and inexorably rules over the whole of mankind. Yet a Virgin is born, who cannot be made to share the common lot; for Mary is here granted, not merely the privilege of immaculate conception, which the Jesuits already held as real, and which rescued her from spiritual perdition, but also that of perpetual health :

Her well-attempered
Body, her vigorous limbs, her lively strength,
Still whole, to deadly sickness bar access.⁴⁸

Death, here personified, then makes her appearance upon the stage, in surroundings which at once recall the Sybil's cave in the sixth book of the *Æneid*, "*spelunca alta fuit vastoque immanis hiatu...*"

A cave there is, oft-winding, vast, and rough,
Untouched of sunrays, gaping out below,
And branching, awe-bewrapt, to jagged recesses.
There Lethe's stream from open cleft outpours,
And roaring loud beneath the sounding vaults
'Mid eddies miry rolls a headlong flood,
And shivers on the rocks that block its course.
Now, here, now there, the sooty roof outspreads,
And rugged halls, with sickness-breathing air,
Lie deep in gloom of death perpetually.
Amidst them stands a throne, all unadorned,
Bedaubed with shapeless mud, besmeared with slime,
On props which ancient rust hath eaten out.
There, hoary-bristling all, sits aged Death,
Her visage lean, her cheeks with putrid gore

⁴⁸ *Complete poems*, GROSART'S ed., pp. 192-193.

quod corporis aequa

Temperies, vegetique artus, et vivida virtus
Lethiferis aditum praecluderet integra morbis

Decayed, her eyes deep-sunk, and round her teeth,
Lips livid, gaping out in shameful leer. (ll.58-74)⁴⁹

The passage of course appears at first sight as a Virgilian cento of the approved type. What follows borrows some interest from the fact that Milton was to choose a curiously parallel theme for epic treatment. Death, like Satan in *Paradise lost*, calls up a council of her retainers, whose help and advice are requested, in the present case, against the blessed Virgin. But where the greater poet brings individual characters upon the stage, Southwell merely parades a host of allegories — the comical array of diseases introduced with their medical names. Death then, with

eyes darting flames,

With gnawed-out nostrils blowing stinking fumes, (ll.89-90)⁵⁰

addresses the infernal army :

Black cohort, aye most faithful to our rule,
What glory Lethe's reign did once obtain
Above, where Phoebus, where the golden Moon
Their chariots drive; what crowds in war we slaughtered,
How many kings we slew, and eke how oft,
We swept the world of men all clear of life,
Since' neath your darts most fell, is known to you.
For well I wot, to Tartarus you drove

⁴⁹ This is a translation, as accurate as possible, of the lines in the *Complete poems*, GROSART'S ed., p. 193, which run as follows :

Est vastum scabris sinuosum anfractibus antrum,
Solis inaccessum radiis, fundoque dehiscens,
Et ruptas reserans immani horrore cavernas.
Propatulo hic fluvius surgit Lethaeus hiatu,
Ingentique ruens per concava saxa fragore,
Proecipitante rotat limosa volumina cursu,
Et dirum aggeribus spumans fremit unda repertis.
Hinc atque hinc atrata patent fuligine tecta,
Et loca senta situ, varios spirantia morbos,
Aeternum spissae squalent caligine mortis.
In medio solium, nulla spectabile pompa,
Informi obductum limo, sanieque perunctum,
Eminet, exesis diuturna aerugine fulcris.
Hic annosa sedet canis mors horrida saetis,
Os macie taboque genas confecta, cavisque
Immersos fossis oculos et livida circum
Dentes labra gerens turpique patentia rictu.

"Solis inaccessum radiis" is from the description of Cacus' cave, *Aeneid* viii, 195 : "Loca senta situ" refers to Tartarus, *Aeneid*, vi, 462; Southwell has made a patchwork collection of all the caverns in Virgil's epic. Cf. also, for the description of Death, *Aeneid* iii, 590 and viii, 197.

⁵⁰ *Ibid*, p. 194 :

.....oculis jaculantibus ignes,
Atque olidum truncis fumum de naribus efflans...

Thick clouds of souls in headlong rush, and gluttred
With plenteous crops of men devouring Orcus. (ll.91-99)⁵¹

Death's speech thus proceeds for some time, in a vein that recalls Cicero as well as Virgil. She exhorts her followers, whom she calls "cives," to remember their past glory, and warns them of the danger with which the Virgin threatens them. She then stops, with a foaming mouth, her words stifled by rage; the "citizens" raise the tumult of war and swear to take up arms against Heaven. But the epic vistas thus opened out soon close up again. Another allegorical character appears upon the stage. Old Age steps forward, and in one more rhetorical speech, endeavours to dissuade the infernal legions from the hopeless undertaking suggested by Death. Their noble enterprise, he says, is doomed to failure. Let them remember the sad fate of the Giants and of Lucifer, who in succession tried their strength against the "divi" or "superi." It is wiser far to bring the cause before him whose justice cannot fail, the thundering God (Tonans) himself. From now on Southwell's poetical imagination seems to flag. The narrative flows on swiftly. Death appears before God to plead her cause, and Gabriel to speak on behalf of the Virgin. She is born of Adam, Death says, and like all men, must submit to the power of the Parcae. But she is without sin,⁵² says Gabriel, and besides she is the mother of Christ and "sponsa Tonantis," the spouse of the thundering God, — one is almost betrayed into translating "the spouse of Jupiter" (ll. 170-205). After both speeches God renders judgment: the soul of the Virgin will leave her body painlessly, and "rise to the stars." Death shudders in wrath, yet requests permission at least to dissolve the Virgin's corpse; but

Against her claim the highest take their stand
And limbs unspotted aye, fair ornaments
Of blissful soul, to Heaven straight up fly.
Th'all pow'rfull God agrees. Resounds with glee

⁵¹ *Ibid* :

Atra cohors, nostris semper fidissima sceptris,
Olim quanta fuit Lethei gloria regni
Qua Phoebus, qua luna suos agit aurea currus,
Quas bello edidimus strages, quot funere reges
Mersimus, et totum quoties consumpsimus orbem
Non latet, et vestris cecidit pars maxima telis.
Vos etenim spissos animarum ad Tartara nimbos
Proecipites egisse subit, plenisque voracem
Exsatiassse hominum functorum messibus Orcum. (*Ibid.*)

⁵² It is of course well-known that the Society of Jesus was strongly in favour of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception. St John Berchmans, S.J., who belonged to a slightly later generation, but who was like Southwell in many ways, wrote in his private devotions a promise, signed with his own blood, "everywhere and always to affirm and defend it." (Hippolyte DELEHAYE, *Saint Jean Berchmans*, Paris, 1921.)

The court of godly ones; of Heaven queen
The Virgin sits, and Death in rout is fled.⁵³

Thus is the Assumption casually brought in at the last moment, and disposed of in a couple of prosaic lines. The Christian warmth of feeling which one had every reason to expect is equally absent from Southwell's other epic fragment in Latin hexameters, *For the feast of Pentecost, May 21st, 1580* (*In festem Pentecostes, Anno Domini 1580, 21 Maii*) which he in fact wrote before he was twenty. We need not dwell at length on this unripe attempt, in which the wretched men left on earth after the Ascension complain that they alone remain without a solace, which Heaven and Hell have enjoyed. The whole is classical in character, and it will be enough to quote one line, in which God is besought to devise some means of comforting his children, so that

Te triplici laudet coelum, Styx, terra, camena, (l. 29)⁵⁴

Praise thee, Heav'n, Styx and earth, a threefold muse...

Obviously, Southwell's genius did not lie that way. Though he might at times be soberly grave, he was not winged for the sublime flights of epic poetry; its largeness, its ampleness, were beyond his powers. His imitations of Virgil are indeed curious, entertaining even, as samples of the kind of work which might be turned out by a conscientious pupil in a Jesuit college; but they have little value of their own.. Southwell himself soon realized his own limitations, and was well-advised enough to remain henceforth on safer ground.

* * * * *

If Southwell failed in the epic *genre*, this was due to his inability to rise to the highest summits of poetry, and not to any awkwardness in the use of classical forms of speech; for as soon as he touches elegy, the sweetness and harmony of his Latin are scarcely less than those of his English lyrics. Christian subjects are now handled, if not in a purely Christian key, at any rate in a mood of pious lovingness. Such is the case for the first one among the elegiac pieces printed by Grosart, *A letter to his father, written by the prodigal son while tending his swine* (*Filii prodigi procos pascentis ad patrem epistola*). In the former half of the piece, the prodigal son describes his wretched fate :

Like gusty winds all things have passed away,
All things have changed the face they bore.

⁵³ *Complete poems*, GROSART's ed., p. 109.

Ast superi contra insurgunt, et nescia labis
Coelo (sic) membra petunt, animae decora alta beatae.
Annuit Omnipotens. Divum sonat aula triumphis.
Virgo poli regina sedet, mors victa fugatur.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 213.

Woe ! Fortune turned her wheel, and freed the storm,
 And bent on hurting, broke my raft.
 The golden age gives place to iron days,
 And merry hours are turned to sorrows;
 The sails which once were pushed of favouring winds,
 Which tamed the seas like placid lakes,
 Twixt Scyllas now and' twixt Charybdes rush,
 Are rent and torn of hostile waves... (ll. 17-26)
 The days of rest have gone, and sad days follow;
 The last of joy was first of pain;
 This fate is hard, but due to my misdeeds;
 A fiercer wrath my faults deserved. (ll. 29-32) ⁵⁵

The prodigal son, having enlarged upon the profligate life he used to indulge in, proceeds thus :

All o'er this main my wandering sail did roam,
 While high the water bore my hull.
 But soon, upon a shore of rugged reefs,
 A crumbling wreck, my craft was stranded. (ll. 51-54) ⁵⁶

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 200 :

Omnia nimbo fluxere simillima vento,
 Nec facies rebus, quae fuit ante, manet.
 Hei volvit fortuna rotam, ventisque solutis
 Disrupit nostram pernicioſa ratem.
 Aurea deperiit, nunc ferrea prodiit aetas ;
 Sunt laeta in tristes tempora versa dies.
 Quaeque prius ventis pergebant vela secundis,
 Et pontum ut faciles edomuere lacus,
 Acta ruunt inter Scyllas interque Charybdes
 Et fracta adversis dilacerantur aquis...
 Jam placidae periire dies, tristesque secutae ;
 Ultima laetitiae prima doloris erat.
 Sors ea dura quidem, sed nostris debita factis,
 Immo est errato lenior ira meo...

On the whole, the poem is a close imitation of OVID's *Tristia* and even more so of the *Epistolae ex Ponto*, of their vocabulary, style, harmony and feeling. Compare with the above passage the following lines :

En ego, non paucis quondam munitus amicis
 Dum flavit velis aura secunda meis ;
 Ut fera nimbo tumuerunt aequora vento
 In mediis lacera puppe relinquoſ aquis...

(*Epist. ex Ponto*, lib. II, Ep. III; ll. 25-29.)

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 201 :

Hoc mea lustravit nimium vaga carbasus aequor,
 Alta quoad plenam sustulit unda ratem :
 Sed modo saxosi portus anfractibus haerens,
 Corruit ablatis naufraga puppis aquis.

In the second part of the poem, the prodigal son addresses his father and throws himself upon his mercy :

O sole, o highest hope, o father mine,
 A father, guard thy son from hurt.
 With tears he now declares his woeful crimes ;
 Forgiving is the part of love.
 I sinned, t'is true, my soul repentant mourns,
 For each misdeed each limb atones,
 But pardon now my soul repentant craves,
 Nor ought but sin can love forgive..... (ll. 91-98)
 Thy offspring now thou seest turned to rebel :
 Wilt then, from father, turn to judge ?
 But hadst thou been my judge, ne'er would my days
 Have been condemned to bear such woe.
 Why did I leave thy threshold once beloved,
 Withdraw my mournful eyes from thine ?... (ll. 101-106)
 Ah God, see what I bore; restrain the waves,
 My hull becalm in long'd for bays;
 Through reefs and seas and dread Charybdes toss't,
 Guide her at last to gentler courses....(ll. 109-112)⁵⁷

⁵⁷ *Ibid*, p. 203 :

O pater, O nati spes summa et sola salutis,
 Sis pater et nati sit tibi cura tui.
 En scelus agnoscit, lacrimis commissa fatetur,
 Parcere peccanti munus amoris erit :
 Peccavi, fateor, sceleris mens conscia luget,
 Erroresque luunt singula membra suos;
 Scilicet et veniam sceleris mens conscia poscit
 Nec nisi peccanti parcere posset amor...
 Nec quia me cernis factum de prole rebellem,
 Tu fieri iudex ex genitore velis.
 Quamvis si fieres, nunquam te iudice tantis
 Esset, credo equidem, subdita vita malis.
 Cur tua deserui redamati limina tecti !
 Cur mea subtraxi lumina maesta tuis !...
 Ah, Deus, ecce tuli, saevos jam comprime fluctus,
 Et petat optatos lassa carina sinus.
 Per mare, per scopulos, per mille agitata Charybdes,
 Mitius ah tandem, te duce, pergat iter...

The parallel use of *limina* and *lumina* in lines 105-106 is a typical play upon words, which cannot be rendered in English.

The passage is again strongly reminiscent of the *Epistolae ex Ponto*, as the following quotation will show :

Poenitet o ! Si quid miserorum creditur ulli,
 Poenitet, et facto torqueor ipse meo !
 Quumque sit exsilium, magis est mihi culpa dolori ;
 Estque pati poenas, quam meruisse, minus.

(*Epist. ex Ponto*, I, i, 59-62.)

More real pathos now appears. While he is yet unforgiven, the prodigal son might die; he imagines his father's sorrow on hearing the tidings :

Should then a letter soon bring news to thee
 Of my sad fate, what wilt thou think,
 What feel, if limbs that once were sprung of thee
 Have been of raging beasts devoured.
 Perhaps thou wilt, with sighs, seek but his grave,
 Whom now thy home might keep alive.
 If thou hast spurned, thy spurning thou shalt rue,
 A double rain will wet thy cheeks;
 Thy dead son's face will oft appear to thee,
 And thou shalt weep, and utter plaints;
 But shadows sad alone will watch thy tears,
 Thy moans will vanish on the wind;
 Thy heart, yet whole, will grieve, and from thy sore
 Thy buried love will rise again;
 'T will rise, 't will rise, too late, alas, for me,
 When hopes of long'd for help have gone.... (ll. 129-144) ⁵⁸

Here again, the poet's faults are too obvious to be concealed. Where we look for the direct and natural expression of sincere, genuine feeling, we still meet with far too much that is merely conventional. The style especially is artificial, this being due, as previously, to that "imitation" which was soon to be, in Pontanus' eyes, the very essence

The prodigal son's graceful way of imploring leniency recalls the manner in which Ovid begs for the Emperor's forgiveness :

Difficile est, fateor ; sed tendit in ardua virtus,
 Et talis meriti gratia major erit

(*Ibid.*, II, ii, 113-114)

Cf. also *ibid.*, 117-122, and I, i, 75.

⁵⁸ *Complete poems*, GROSART'S ed., pp. 204-5 :

O si forte brevi tales tibi littera casus
 Adferat, et nati talia fata tui,
 Quae tibi mens, quis sensus erit, cum, te orta parente,
 Audieris rabidas membra vorasse feras ?
 Tunc fortasse gemens sobolis vel busta requires,
 Quam poteras vivam nuno habuisse domi.
 Tunc, si me renuas, memorans renuisse dolebis,
 Atque tuo duplex imber ab ore fluat.
 Obvia saepe animo defuncti occurret imago,
 Junctaque cum lacrimis plurima verba dabis,
 Ast aderit nullus nisi tristes fletibus umbrae
 Et rapiet gemitus ventus et aura tuos.
 Tunc dolor invadet quem non invaserat olim,
 Quique sepultus erat, vulnere surget amor.
 Ille quidem surget, sed nostros serus in usus,
 Cum nulla optatae spes opis esse potest.

The peculiar use of "littera" is from Ovid (*Ibid.*, II, vii, 1) The description of the father's weeping may recall *Tristia*, I, iii, 17-18..

of poetry. Southwell knows his Ovid by heart, and exudes the *Tristia* and *Epistolæ ex Ponto* at every pore. Once again, he deserves praise less for his own poetical imagination than for the careful keeping of a written or mental note-book of Latin phrases, and for the skilful way in which he extracts from it words of the needed quantity. Lastly, no translation, however painstaking, will veil the fact that part of the poem is utterly pedestrian.

At the same time, it cannot be denied that the *Letter of the prodigal son*, despite the preposterous unlikelihood of its subject, stands on a definitely higher level than the two epic fragments. Nor is this merely due to the soft plaintiveness of the model which Southwell was so faithfully following. At any rate, he would not have provided such a happy reproduction of Ovid's harmonious sadness, if his own mood had not been in a way akin to that of the Latin writer. Both the despondent grief of the elderly courtier, and the devotional sentimentalism of the adolescent Jesuit, find expression in the same vague wistfulness. Yet the colour is not exactly the same in both cases. Ovid is cringingly earnest in his complaints, whereas Southwell's pleading is of a gentler kind; it wins love through its own amiableness; it disarms anger and compels leniency through its half-smiling gracefulness. The "Ah Deus, ecce tuli," with its weary trustfulness, reminds one of the Latin meditations, and foreshadows the concluding part of *Saint Peters complaint*. Here already, we find a moving charm which is Southwell's own.

* * * * *

In the *Letter of the prodigal son*, while the poet's emotion is touching indeed, its expression is neither direct nor plain; and we already find in it an element which will come to the forefront in the other elegies and in the epigrams, the peculiar Southwellian blend of gentle feeling and mannered expression. His Jesuit education naturally fostered his natural neatness and skilfulness in the arrangement of ideas and words. Preciosity is the supreme form of Pontanus' "ingenium," and was of value, for the teachers of the Society, as supplying a motive of literary interest to take the place of passion and sensuousness. Besides, its appearance in religious writings was scarcely a novelty; it was the direct outcome of patristic rhetoric; it had flourished in the Middle-Ages, in the course of which pious conceits were more than once introduced into the hymns of the Church.

The preference of the Jesuits for non-lyrical forms of poetry explains their partiality for the epigram, that favourite pastime of the humanists. "We are wont to admire the epigram, Pontanus writes, not only on account of its perfection of style, of its gracefulness, of its numbers falling in sweet succession, of its brevity... but also on account of its subtlety and cleverness." He then makes a distinction between

simple and "adorned" epigram ; in the latter, he says, there are two terms, one of which is related to the other, being greater, or smaller or equal, or different, or contrary. As an illustration of this he quotes Cicero on parallelism and opposition of terms, whether they be of like nature or antithetical ; such parallelism and opposition being extended not only to single ideas, but also to series of corresponding ideas. We find here some of the most essential elements of preciosity, those which are most conspicuous in Southwell's works.

As a matter of fact, the scholars of the Society were profuse in the composition of such concise and witty pieces. One of Southwell's fellow-prisoners in the tower, John Ingram, not a Jesuit himself it is true, but a grateful pupil of the Jesuits at Pont-à-Mousson and Rome, covered the walls of his dungeon with epigrams. These do not testify to very high powers, even of the kind here referred to, but they prove with what gusto the neo-humanists cast into the mould of "elegant" conceits their most intimate, deepest and even most tragic emotions.⁵⁹ Thus also did Southwell when he came to the writing of epigrams. His preciosity already appears in its full-blown form in what Grosart calls the *Fragment of a series of Elegies*. This fragment consists of three pieces, headed Elegies VII, VIII and IX respectively, the middle one alone being complete. Grosart erroneously referred N° VII to the defeat of the Armada, and also mistakenly supposed N° VIII to be an imaginary speech of Mary Queen of Scots. In fact, the whole set seems to have been written to commemorate the life and death of Saint Margaret, queen of Scotland, a holy woman who for various reasons appears to have held a prominent place in the affections of English Catholics in the late XVIth century. She was the wife of King Malcolm, of Shakespearian memory, a wild barbarian whom she won over to Christianity, by her lovingness and charm, and whom she constantly guided in the pious exercise of his rule over his subjects. When the fragment opens, the saint has just died ; Elegy VII describes the whole universe mourning for such an irreparable loss. It is placed in the mouth of Malcolm himself, who laments the death of "Margaris" or "Margareta" in such words as the following :

I mourn, let Heaven be witness ! My Margaret, alack ! (l.34)

Should I not mourn ? My life with Margaret flees ! (l. 36)

I faint, I fall ! O grief, o grief, I die !

No more ! Kind earth, o hide my pain ! (ll. 40-41)⁶⁰

⁵⁹ John INGRAM's Epigrams (scribbled by him on the walls of his dungeon in the Tower) in *C.R.S.*, vol. v, pp. 270-281.

⁶⁰ *Complete poems*, GROSART's ed., p. 207 :

Ah doleo ! testes superi ! Mea Margaris, eheu !...

Non doleam ? mea vita fugit, mea Margareta !...

Deficio, subsido : dolor ! dolor ! expirabo !

Jam satis est, luctus tu tege, terra, meos.

The idea expressed in these lines is further developed in Elegy VIII, also placed in the mouth of the husband of the saint. This piece is a rather graceful but over-skilful display of verbal agility, centring round a conceit, namely that the beloved woman being one with her lover, either she cannot be said to have died since he remains alive, or he cannot be said to remain alive since she is dead. The theme of the elegy is earthly love, but earthly love so free from any sensuousness, so thoroughly blended with Christian piety, so ethereal, as to be indistinguishable from divine love. Lastly, Elegy IX, which is short and of small interest is entitled : *The shade of the queen teaches her noblemen, what is to be thought of these fleeting things below* (*Umbra reginae nobiles viros docet, quid sit de rebus hisce fluxis sentiendum.*) It is an oration, full of sensible moral advice, and a forerunner of Southwell's lyrics of wisdom.

Elegies VII and VIII are sweetly touching in places, but they are marred by conceits which are no better than puns, and poor ones at that; they supply proofs, both of Southwell's childish immaturity at the time and of the absurd lengths to which preciosity was pushed by his literary compeers. He stoops to such playing upon words as : "Heu, dicunt periisse Peru !" (Elegy VII, 1.22 : Alas, they say that Peru perished !) or the following distich, in which the husband speaks to himself :

Sic quod amas animas ? quod amas sinis ecce perire ;
Si sinis hoc cinis est, nam calor inde fugit (El. VIII, ll.7-8)

The conceit on "sinis" and "cinis" is untranslatable, the meaning being as follows :

Thy love thou quicknest ? No, thou lettest her die;
Let'st her turn to ashes : from her flees heat.

But the climax is reached with the following comical joke :

Quid quod et Æthiopes membris nigrantibus horrent.
A luctu credo provenit ille color (El. VII, ll. 20-21)

Th'Ethiopians shudder in their swarthy limbs.
Methinks their mourning bred their colour.

But once again, the lad Southwell may be forgiven for his passing concession to the debased tastes of the age. At the same time that he was thus unwittingly providing amusement for future readers, he was already supplying instances of another kind of wit, which was far more natural to him. The following lines contain an intellectual conceit, one in which the central motive is not verbal likeness or contrast,

but the opposition of two ideas — here represented by the words "one" and "two" :

Now countest well ? I, thou : think'st two names.

But in those two one soul is seated;

One soul : thus hearts embrace, and minds are wed :

Thou, I, not two, though two our hearts.

I thine, thou mine : twin bonds will join us both ;

Here both of us, and yet not twain.

Why mourn ? shalt live, one body holds us both,

A living body hast in mine;

Or else I'm dead ; one body holds us both,

My limbs are buried in thy grave. (El. VIII, ll. 15-24) ⁶¹

The next passage is musically touching ; yet, though free from actual conceits, it remains delicately subtle :

Of all things fairest thou, thus spokest dying :

"Thy heart for e'er my name shall keep.

Though hence I go, let spouse and spouse be near.

I die; in death live still with me....." (ll. 27-30)

Thou shalt for e'er be mine, though deemed afar,

Aye shall my breast thy last words hold;

And like thy words, for e'er thou'lt cleave to me,

Thy words, my days, one death will meet.

Of mourning e'er no light shall make me weary :

Who would forget such light as thine ?..... (ll.33-38) ⁶²

Such, then — uniting tender lovingness with clever trifling — is Southwell's one contribution to the poetry of human love. Even where

61

An bene dinumeras ? Ego, tu; duo nomina fingis :

Ast unum duplici nomine numen inest.

Numen inest : cor corde premit, mentemque maritat;

Non duo tu vel ego, sint duo corda licet,

Sim tuus et mea sis, sint vincula bina duorum :

Simus et hic ambo; non tamen ambo sumus.

Quid queror ? haud moreris; duo sunt nam corpore in uno,

Sic vivum nostro corpore corpus habes :

Aut ego jam perii, duo sunt nam corpore in uno;

Sic mea sunt tumulo membra sepulta tuo.

62

Hoc est, quod moriens, rerum pulcherrima, dixi :

Nomen tu memori pectore semper habe !

Et licet hinc absim, sit praesens conjuge conjux :

Defungor : functa tu quoque vive mihi.

Jam mea semper eris, licet hic mea diceri absens;

Pectoribus statuam dicta suprema meis.

Quamque mihi dictum, tam tu mihi semper adhaeres,

Et dicti et vitae mors erit una meae.

Non mihi votorum reddet lux ulla tuorum

Taedia; quis tantae non meminisse potest ? (Ibid., p. 209)

the feeling is most genuine, the main conceit on "life" and "death" is not forgotten ; an age-old conceit, which appears everywhere in the literature of the time, Continental as well as English, but which must have possessed rare charms in the eyes of the Jesuit ; for he reverted to it again and again. Its pious interpretation lay in the contrast between earthly life, which is so often tantamount to spiritual death, and the death of the body, which opens out the portals of everlasting life. To this religious use Southwell turned in two Latin epigrams. In the former of these, *for the renewing of his vows at Christmas-time (In renovationem votorum, festis natalis Domini)*,⁶³ he even improves upon it, by adding to it an untranslatable double pun on "vota" and "vita," (the poet's religious vows, and life, taken now in its proper sense, and now as an equivalent for God)⁶⁴ — the two words and the three ideas interlacing with each other throughout the piece. The same thought again, though worked out in a simpler way, supplies the central motive for the tracery work of the second epigram, *To god in affliction : an Elegy (Ad Deum in afflictione : Elegia)* — this description being an obvious misnomer. This short poem runs as follows :

Thou seest my silent tears, my wounded heart,
 The secret fire with which I burn;
 How oft my breast in sadness heaves up sighs,
 How oft I'd welcome death for thee.
 And yet I live, if life be life, to whom
 'T is death to live, and life to die.
 The life, which I would live, takes flight afar,
 A life unsought for, cruel, comes :
 My chase one flees, one follow when I flee.
 I chase and flee : here grief, there grief;
 Nor fleeing am I caught, nor catch who flees.
 Alack for me, who'll change my fate ?⁶⁵

This is not, indeed, the only Latin poem in which Southwell expresses his distress upon earth, and his pining for his heavenly home.

⁶³ GROSART, p. 214.

⁶⁴ The opposition between *vota* and *vita* runs throughout this short poem, the last two lines reading as follows :

Des igitur tua vota Deo, dabit ipse seipsum,
 Et reddet votis præmia vita tuis.
 (Give thou thy vows to God, he'll give himself,
 And Life will bless thee for thy vows.)

In a footnote GROSART says (p. 214) : "The MS. reads 'vita', but wrongly; and we substitute 'viva'." "There seems no reason for this, the meaning being perfectly clear with *vita*=Deus, while Grosart's correction destroys the conceit in the last line.

Tu tacitas nosti lacrimas, tu saucia cernis
 Pectora, secreto quod cremer igne vides;

In the short piece headed *To Saint Catherine, virgin and martyr (Ad sanctam Catherinam, virginem et martyrem)*⁶⁶ he addresses, instead of God, one of the dwellers in Paradise, but the feeling is the same as previously. He prays that he may be freed from his "biting grief," his "weeping," the "silent fires that inwardly burn him." Conventional images are now borrowed from the common store of Petrarchan love poetry. And yet, who would doubt his sincerity? It is vouched for by his Latin devotions, by his English poems, by the way in which he raised his own life so near to the purely spiritual and supernatural, by the radiant bliss that lit up his death at Tyburn. Therefore, while casting his most intimate and ardent feelings into the artificial mould of preciousness, he was giving the lie to Pontanus' theory, according to which the neo-classical poet should be wholly detached from himself, and his hand know nothing of his heart.

Whether this holds good of other precious authors as well, must be decided in each individual case. Suffice it for the present to have shown that genuine feelings may quite easily clothe themselves in an artificial garb, when fashion prescribes as much. This will have to be remembered when we come to the study of Southwell's Italian models, or of his own English compositions. Nor is the reaching of such a conclusion the only justification for a detailed study of his Latin prose and verse. The latter is indeed of small literary value; its interest is chiefly that of a document on Jesuit education. Yet it throws light upon influences that Southwell was slow in rejecting, and which are still strongly felt in *Saint Peters complaint* and in *Mary Magdalens teares*. They illustrate what we have called the weaker side of his personality, in which a taste for neatness, for prettiness, for poetical fretwork and arabesque, combines with a tenderness which is sweet and touching indeed, yet too clever in its expression to sound really deep. They bear witness to the poet's gift of adaptability, to the fineness of his taste and ear and to his musical sense; they offer, as yet, little that may be called original.

On the whole, Southwell's years of literary preparation present a curiously mixed picture, and largely account for the various phases of his progress. The literary spirit of the Society of Jesus, its insistence

Tu, quoties tristi ducam suspiria corde,
 Tu, quoties pro te mors mihi grata foret.
 Vivo tamen, si vita potest quam duco vocari,
 Quippe cui mors est vivere, vita mori.
 Namque procul mea vita fugit, qua vivere vellem,
 Et fera qua nollem vivere vita venit :
 Haec me dum fugio sequitur, fugit illa sequentem.
 Persequor et fugio, luctus utrinque mihi;
 Nec fugiens capior, nec euntem carpere possum.
 Hei mihi, qui versa vivere sorte dabit ! (52) (GROSART, p. 212)

⁶⁶ *Complete poems*, GROSART'S ed., p. 213.

on the minor sides of poetical craftsmanship, were not alone responsible for his preciousity ; yet their influence was felt in the early English works as well as in the Latin verse. At the same time it was not possible for any theory to stifle the emotions aroused in juvenile hearts when they came into direct touch with the beauties of ancient poetry. Southwell had felt them, and tried to emulate them. His natural lyricism was strengthened at Rome, as well as his belief in the divine mission of the poet. The inspiration thus awakened in him was soon to shake off the leading-strings of literary orthodoxy.

CHAPTER VI

FROM CONCETTISM TO DIRECTNESS

Southwell's apostolate in England, and his career as a man of letters, were indeed far less secret than the dangers with which he was beset might lead one to imagine; one of his works at least was published in London while he was still alive and free, and others were circulated in manuscript form. Yet it is no easy task to determine the successive order of his productions, and to trace a line of development. The evidence available is disappointingly scanty. There is proof that some of his writings are now lost to us: such is the case of the early meditation in English turned into Latin by More¹; of the collection of private letters from which the same biographer drew, which included a letter of direction to the countess of Arundel²; and of a book of *Spiritual rules* mentioned by Fr. Garnet in his account of the poet's martyrdom³. From the date of Southwell's arrival in England, none of his own manuscripts are extant⁴; his works were generally published long after being written and the order in which they came out of the press bears no relation to that of their composition; they contain but few allusions

¹ Henry MORE, *Historia provinciae anglicanae S.J.*, Audomari 1660, pp. 173-5: "Cuius Querimoniae Authographum [sic] Anglice scriptum cum postiliminio ad me delatum sit, eius exemplar huc referendum censui...." Cf. above, Chapt. 1.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 185-191. MORE quotes "Inter familiares epistola 39" (to the Countess of Arundel); "Literae de vitando vago vivendi genere, inter familiares" (to some priest); "epistola 2 familiaris" (to his father, after the latter's conversion); Epistola 37 familiaris de tempore recte distribuendo." More's quotations are in Latin, presumably translated from an English original.

³ General archives S.J., *Anglia* 31, Copia di una lettera del P. Henrico Garnette... scritta... à 7 di Marzo 1595, f. 3: "L'essame della coscienza ô Particulare, perche a questo solea essortare tutti i suoi penitenti, hauendolo anche lasciato scritto in certe sue Regole spirituali molto stimate dalli buoni, e diuoti Cattolici, doue gl'auisa, che non essendoui chi celebri loro la messa ogni di, e senta le loro confessioni piglino certi tempi assignati per ambe due queste cose con stare ogni di diuotamente in genocchioni, e presentarsi al signore à qualche messa, ch' in alcuna parte si dicesse in quell' istess' hora nel mondo, e preparandosi per la confessione confarla formatamente à Dio, come s'hauessero presente la persona del Sacerdote. "This spiritual advice does not appear in the *Short rule of good life*, and therefore the work mentioned by Garnet must be a different one.

⁴ In his edition of Southwell, p. xxvii, Grosart asserts that MS. A. v. 27 in the library of Stonyhurst College, which is an early transcript of the English poems, bears emendations in the poet's own hand. This was already doubted by Sydney Lee in his article on Southwell in the *Dict. Nat. Biogr.*, vol. LIII. p. 294 (1898), and can be conclusively shown to be false. The corrections only refer to words misread by the scribe, and the very page of which Grosart gives a facsimile is evidence against him. The question is discussed below in appendix V, which supplies a full list of the emendations.

to contemporary events. Finally they fall, as will be shown, within the narrow space of six years, so that no wide scope is given to the study of possible variations in the poet's vocabulary, style or metre. Conjecture must therefore play an important part in the following pages, in which we merely intend to state the occasion and determine the successive order of his productions, leaving aside for the present further consideration of their literary features and value.

The same uncertainty, however, does not prevail in regard to Southwell's Roman years. Much information may be derived from a comparison of the three collections of fragments in his own hand which have survived to this day, one at Newbury (Berks)⁵, one in the royal archives at Brussels⁶ and one at Stonyhurst College.⁷ The first two are made up of prose devotions in Latin; they are written in a small, neat, rather schoolboy-like Italian hand; they are obviously related to the religious exercises which the poet went through while he was still a novice or scholastic⁸. The third manuscript is rather more puzzling at first; but there seems no reasonable doubt that it was also written before Southwell had left Rome, and later than the other two. It is written in a sort of compromise between the above-mentioned Italian hand and the English "secretary" hand; it looks as if the writer had had some difficulty in changing from the former to the latter. The fragments include Latin devotions of the usual type; neat copies of the Latin poems, one of these being dated 1580, and an other one being written out for the benefit of a dear friend⁹; and rough drafts or jottings in English verse and prose. Judging from the hand, the way in which the sheets were folded up, the kind of paper used, these pieces all belong to the same period.¹⁰ This was no doubt the time at which Southwell had already begun to turn his thoughts to the English mission-field and was doing duty at the English college. He would presumably, before his departure, put his notes in order, copy out his early poems in Latin and try his hand at further compositions in his own mother-tongue.

⁵ Two MS. books of devotions, preserved in the Catholic church of St. Joseph, Newbury, Berks, and headed respectively, in Fr. Christopher Grene's handwriting, *Manuscripta B. P. Roberti Southwelli Soc. Jesu Martyris* and *Manu P. Rob. Southwelli Martyris scripta*. See bibliography below.

⁶ The *Exercitia et devotiones* mentioned above. Cf. Chapt. IV.

⁷ MS. A. v. 4, described in App. III below.

⁸ The Newbury MSS. were sent from Rome to Liege in 1682. Fr. Newdigate, S. J., concludes from the nature of the various pieces that they were "written by the Martyr, apparently when a novice or scholastic at Rome (1578-80). The writing is strikingly similar to that of the *Exercitia et devotiones*."

⁹ This is the poem *De assumptione B. M. V.*, which is followed by the words: "Tuissimus in Domino Robertus Southwellus."

¹⁰ Cf. App. III below.

Now the English pieces in the Stonyhurst MS include Southwell's translation of the opening stanzas of Tansillo's *Lagrima di San Pietro*; the translation of an Italian homily which provided the groundwork for *Mary Magdalen's funeral tears*; and two short fragments, one in verse, one in prose, which seem to be original. The verse fragment — seven lines in the ballad metre — presents no very marked features; the short prose fragment is what may be described as strongly Euphuistic. The Italian writers selected by Southwell for translation are masters, though in different veins, of the art of conceits. Two facts therefore, are clear from the outset: first that the Jesuit's earliest literary efforts in English¹¹ were closely akin to his Latin compositions, over-ingenious and over-elaborate in style and expression; and besides, that his thoughts turned from the very beginning to the subjects of the two works, *Saint Peter's complaint* and *Mary Magdalen's funeral tears*, which were to gain him most renown. It seems likely therefore, that both of the finished pieces were composed, if not in Italy, at any rate shortly after the poet had set foot on his native soil; especially as other reasons point the same way.

From now on, the prose works, in regard to which the evidence is pretty full, must be considered before the poems, about the date of which hardly anything is known. The conclusions reached in regard to the former may then be extended to the latter. Beside *Saint Peter's complaint* and *Mary Magdalen's funeral tears*, another one of Southwell's compositions — the largest one in size — had its source in Italy. It is a mystical treatise, entitled *A hundred meditations of the love of God*. This was long thought to be original and was published as such sixty years ago.¹² However, it has been shown lately by Fr C. A. Newdigate, S. J., to be an English version of a book which was first published in Spanish, the *Meditationes devotissimas del Amor de Dios*. The author, Diego de Estella (Didacus Stella) was a Spanish Franciscan, "a distinguished preacher, confessor to Philip II," and "well-known among the great ascetical writers of the late sixteenth century..... The first edition... appeared at Salamanca in 1576, and was soon followed by others."¹³ There is no reason to think that Southwell had mastered the Spanish language; but before he left Rome the work had been turned into Italian by a Jesuit father, Gianbattista Peruschi, and published first at Venice, without the name of the translator, in 1584, then at Florence in 1585.¹⁴ The dating of the

¹¹ This is, not counting the *Querimonia*, which dates back to the beginning of 1578. But as far as we can judge from More's Latin translation, this piece entirely bears out the above remarks.

¹² By Fr. John MORRIS, London 1873. See bibliography.

¹³ In an article in the *Month*, Nov. 1925, pp. 6-8, entitled: *From Jesuit to Franciscan: in restitution.*

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

Venice edition is rather peculiar. The book begins with a dedication to the duchess of Sora, written on "the first of April, 1584;" the title-page confirms this as to the year, but the colophon says 1585. This seems to prove that the printing was begun in the former year, and finished in the latter. In any case, the chances are that the work was published early in 1585.¹⁵ As Southwell did not leave Rome until May, 1586, this leaves a space of some sixteen months during which he may have devoted his leisure time to the translation of the Italian text. That he actually did so cannot be proved; but he must have taken to England either his completed translation, or the original on which to continue work; for the next we hear of the *Hundred Meditations* is that he used them for his apostolate among the English nobility. The unknown person who transcribed them for Lady Beauchamp, and whose dedication has been quoted above, states that Southwell "especially wrote, and meant to have printed them" for her mother.¹⁶ The printing which the Jesuit was contemplating would be done in England, perhaps at his own private press. Here again, however, apart from the fact that the work was no doubt brought to his notice while he was in Italy, there are other reasons to ascribe an early date to the translation. It has peculiarities of its own, which seem to show that it was penned in a highly classical atmosphere; for the vocabulary is latinized, and far removed from the comparative homeliness of the latter prose works. At the same time, it must be said that the *Meditations* are almost wholly free from preciosity, and thus, if written at Rome, must have run counter to other literary influences, which for the time being, had gained the upper hand.

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The foundation for the *Tears* — Mary Magdalen's passionate, obstinate lamentations of finding Christ's tomb empty — had been laid at Rome; but this is almost the only direct evidence we possess in regard to the date at which the work was written. In his dedication to Dorothy Arundell of Lanherne, Southwell states that he composed it to comply with her wish: "Your vertuous requests, to which deserts gave the force of a commandement, won mee to satisfie your devotion..."¹⁷ In his preface to the reader, he mentions the circumstances which induced him to print the *Tears* as well: "If necessitie, he says, ...had not more prevailed than choice, this worke of so different a subject from the usuall veine, should have beene no eye-sore to those that are pleased with worse matters: Yet sith the copies thereof flew so fast,

¹⁵ For this edition cf. below, *Bibliography*.

¹⁶ *A hundred meditations on the love of God*, ed. J. MORRIS, p. XIX.

¹⁷ Southwell's works, ed. 1636, sig. I^a.

and so false abroad, that it was in danger to come corrupted to the print, it seemed a lesse evill to let it flie to common view in the native plume, and with the owne wings, than disguised in a coat of bastard feather, or cast off from the fist of such a Corrector, as might haply have perished the sound, and impeded in some sicke and sorry feathers of his own fancie."¹⁸ An appreciable length of time apparently elapsed between the composing and the printing of the work. But both the above passages may refer to any date during the Jesuit's mission years. An extreme limit can however be fixed, since surprisingly enough, while Southwell was being hunted about by pursuivants, his work was licensed for printing by one of the chief publishers. It appears in the *Stationers' register* on Nov. 8th, 1591: "Master Cawood. Entred for his copie under the hand of the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury. A booke entituled, *Mary Magdalen's Funerall Teares...* VI d."¹⁹ The actual printing, however, seems to have been deferred, for the first known edition issued by Cawood bears the date of 1594.

In any case, a comparison of the *Tears* with Southwell's compositions strengthens the surmise ventured above, that this work was written either at Rome or shortly after Southwell's arrival in England. It can scarcely be described as prose; the build and rhythm of the sentences are over-elaborate, the thought is over-ingenious. The following quotation will prove the striking likeness between the *Tears* and the Latin poems: "Art thou lesse moved with these teares that shee sheddeth for thee her onely Master, than thou wert with those that shee shed before thee for her deceased brother? Or doth her love to thy servant more please thee than her love to thy selfe? Our love to others must not bee to them, but to thee in them. For hee loveth thee so much the lesse that loveth any thing with thee. If therefore shee then deserved well for loving thee in another, shee deserved better now, for loving thee in thy selfe..."²⁰

This toying with ideas was soon to disappear; but we again meet with rhetorical preciosity in the earliest one among Southwell's other prose works that can be dated with certainty, the *Epistle of comfort to the Reverend priestes, and to the Honorable, Worshipful, and other of the laye sort restrayned in Durance for the Catholicke Fayth*.²¹ We learn from the author's preface that he wrote it first of all for

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, K 4^b K 5^a. The simile is borrowed from hawking. Information on Dorothy Arundel, her father, and the mission priest John Cornelius (cf. above chapt. II) was sought in MORE's *Hist. prov. angl. S.J.*; TANNER's *Societas Jesu militans*, DODD's *Church History*, CHALLONER's *Memoirs*, and the *Dict. Nat. Biogr.*

¹⁹ Quoted by Fr. THURSTON in the *Month* vol. LXXXIII, pp. 382-3. Gillow, in his *Biogr. Dict. of English Catholics*, wrongly asserts that there was an edition in 1591.

²⁰ *Mary Magdalens Tears*, in the 1636 edition of Southwell's *Works*, sign. N12^b.

²¹ Title-page of the first ed. Cf. bibliography below, and *Cath. Record Society Publications*, vol. XXI, p. 321.

"an especiall friend" of his, "not thinking to let it passe any further. Yet, he adds, "not only the Tyme, to which it principally serveth, but the Intreaty of diuers, inforced me so farre, that I could not but condescend to the publishing of the same, though it cost me much labour in altering the style."²² More, who had the poet's correspondence in his hands when he wrote his biography, tells us that the "especiall friend" was the countess of Arundel, "though [the Epistle] was afterwards most useful in soothing the sufferings of all Catholics."²³ It is clear from Southwell's words that this work was issued under his supervision; and there is reason to believe that the first edition was printed at his own private press at Arundel House in the Strand, though the title-page bear the words "Imprinted at Paris," and the "fautes in orthographye, or poynting" be ascribed to "the french Printers ignorance of our language."²⁴ The date of this edition does not appear either in the title page or in the colophon; but it can be inferred from a sentence on folio 197^a, where Southwell says to his Protestant adversaries: "You have laboured to suppress vs this 29 years." Now the use of such a number as twenty-nine instead of round figures means that the poet intended to be strictly accurate; and since the suppression of Catholicism had begun almost simultaneously with Elizabeth's accession, with the imprisonment of Bishop White on December 14th, 1558, we may conclude that the *Epistle* was being written in the course of the twenty-ninth year which followed this event, that is to say during the year 1587, while Southwell was still fresh from his Roman memories.²⁵

The *Epistle of comfort* is altogether different from *Mary Magdalene's Tears* in regard to its subject and aim. It is a work of considerable size, and serves a double purpose: in its former and larger part, the

²² *Epistle of comfort*, ed. 1605, p. 3.

²³ MORE, *Hist. prov. Angl. S. J.* p. 185: "Illius [comitissae de Arondel] causa script.... Epistolam consolatoriam prolixiorē, quanquam & illa omnium Catholicorum vexationibus leniendis fuit vtilissima." (The full title of the work is *The Triumphs ouer Death; OR A consolatorie Epistle, for afflicted minds, in the affects of dying friends.*)

²⁴ *Epistle of comfort*, ed. 1616, p. 3. Cf. *Cath. Record Soc. Publ.* vol. xxi, where it is said that the book is "printed on English pot paper, which shows that the place name is fictitious."

²⁵ Both the first (London) edition (Fol. 197^a) and the second (Douai) edition of 1605 (p. 385) have the sentence as quoted above, with "29 years." In the 1616 edition, which is an exact reproduction of the preceding one, the number is altered to "30 years," no doubt because at a distance, the need for a precise figure was lost sight of, and a round number seemed more in keeping with the literary tone of the work. In his edition of the prose-works of Southwell (1828), Walter misread and misprinted the number as "twenty-six years" (p. 194) and concluded from it (preface, fol. 16) that the Epistle had "been written in 1584, on the very year he [Southwell] arrived in England" Walter's error on both points need scarcely be emphasized. "These twenty-nine years" no doubt means: this year being the twenty-ninth; the expression would be suggested by official documents dated by the year of the Queen's reign.

author produces a number of reasons which ought to make tribulation acceptable, as a spiritual boon from God, to the persecuted English Catholics; the latter part stands alone among his early compositions, as bearing a polemical character, and being directed against the "Protestants" of the State Church. Martyrdom suffered for the sake of error, Southwell asserts, is no true martyrdom; and there can be no possible comparison between the Catholic martyrs under Elizabeth, and the Protestant martyrs under Mary, whose torments John Foxe had recently described. But the titles of the chapters in the *Epistle*, which are couched in the shape of "propositions," should lead to no false impression concerning the contents of the work. It is wholly poetical in tone, and each of its sections, whether devotional or polemical, is nothing but a brilliant succession of beautiful similes, each one merging into the next without any apparent framework of logic.

That it still contains traces of Southwell's early preciosity appears from such sentences as the following: "Consider where we are, what state we stand in, the daungers that hang over vs, and our ordinary misses and wantes; we shall find that our whole life is so necessarily ioyned with sorrowes, that it might rather seeme a madnesse to liue in pleasure, then odious to liue in payne..."²⁶ Yet it shows a marked advance in strength, in seriousness, in dignity, in the sense of poetical beauty, in the substitution of richly-coloured images drawn from reality, for mere nimbleness of wit.

Some remnants of rhetorical preciosity appear in two letters of exhortation, which come next in order of time among Southwell's works. These are strictly personal in character. One is directed to the Jesuit's brother, and runs to three pages only; the other one is a work of ampler size, addressed *To the worshipful his very good father*.²⁷ Southwell's relatives were naturally enough, afraid lest his return to England might be a source of danger to themselves; he felt that they were not over-anxious to welcome him home, and therefore "bridled his desire to see them with the care and jealousy of their safety."²⁸ Yet after a time it became "a continual corrosive and cross"²⁹ to him, that his kindred should be alone to lose the benefit of his spiritual endeavours. His father who, More says, "was a rich man," and therefore feared the heavy recusancy fines, and "had married a lady from the court (once the mistress of Queen Elizabeth in the Latin tongue), although he shared the beliefs of the Catholics, abstained from

²⁶ *An Epistle of Comfort: to the reverend priests, and to the honovrable worshipfull, and other of the lay sort, restrayned in durance for the Catholike Faith*, s. l., 1605, p. 42.

²⁷ Cf. below, Bibliography. Both *Letters* are published in Trotman's edition of the *Triumphs over death*.

²⁸ TROTMAN, *Triumphs over death*, p. 37, § 7.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 39, § 14.

Catholic worship, and served the time."³⁰ Southwell's brother had followed the same course. He had, it is true, expressed a resolve to amend his life, but he was still wavering. The Jesuit tried to steel him to a final decision.³¹ He no doubt achieved his purpose, for when he turned to exhorting his father, he conveyed to him "the earnest desire of his other children."³² Thus we know that the former epistle was in fact composed before the latter, which is dated by the writer himself "this 22nd of October, 1589."³³

That Southwell's admonition did its work well is vouched for by More, on the evidence of a further letter to his father, now unfortunately lost to us, in which he "congratulated both himself and his parent, and gave thanks to God that the same man had been given to him in the beginning as a pledge of further gain, whom he would have been most pleased to receive as the reward of his last endeavours."³⁴ And yet it may be doubted whether Richard Southwell's conversion had taken root very deeply, since at the time of his son's imprisonment, he was still in favour at court. For the time being, however, the Jesuit's eloquent and pressing appeal had been successful; and this no doubt induced him to try its force upon the other members of his flock. He is said to have printed it at his own press at Arundel House.³⁵ No copy of this early edition has come down to us, but the letter is found in at least five different manuscripts, which testifies to its wide dissemination.³⁶

In a way, Southwell's *Letter to his father* is strikingly similar to his former works. It is decidedly rhetorical; the text is divided up into paragraphs, each of which in its turn is carefully built up of balanced sentences with parallel clauses. This adherence to an artificial mode of expression is the more striking, as the occasion is an exceedingly serious and urgent one, in which Southwell's concern for the spiritual welfare of his aged father calls for immediate action. The tone is severe in the extreme. Whereas the *Epistle of comfort* was aglow with juvenile enthusiasm, with sunlight playing upon the fresh colouring of the images, the general hue is now darker. And yet the writer still clings to his predilection for ornamented, symmetrical prose, as in the

³⁰ MORE, *Hist. prov. angl. S.J.*, p. 189.

³¹ TROTMAN, *Triumphs over death*, p. 64, § 1.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 62, § 111.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

³⁴ MORE, *Hist. prov. angl. S. J.*, p. 190 : "Effectum assecuta est optatum, quemadmodum sibi et parenti alijs literis adgratulatur, Deo gratias agens quod eum sibi quasi futuri lucri pignus initio dedisset, quem in ultimorum conatum praemium accepisse fuisset gratissimum."

³⁵ By GILLOW, *Biogr. Dict. of English Catholics*, sub. nom. Southwell. There is a copy of this work in the Bodleian library, which we have not been able to see.

³⁶ Southwell's poems, (*St Peter's Complaint* etc.), 1636 ed., Sigs. Q 11-12. *The*

following sentence : "Despise not, good Sir, the youth of your son; neither deem that God measureth His endowments by number of years. Hoary senses are often couched under green locks, and some are riper in the Spring than others in the Autumn of their age."³⁷ But on the whole, subtlety in thought and preciousity in style are making way for sober, restrained, forcible eloquence.

The same process is even more clearly marked in the work which follows next in order of date, the *Triumphs over death*. This piece is closely akin to Southwell's *Letter to his father*, both being comparatively short, and built in the same way : a succession of detached paragraphs, each enclosing one definite thought, and complete in itself. The scheme is really the same as in *St Peters complaint*, one stanza in the latter corresponding to one paragraph in the former. The *Triumphs over death* were, according to the title-page of the 1596 edition, "first written for the consolation of one; but nowe published for the generall good of all;" and in his preface "to the reader," the author expresses himself as follows : "I intend this comfort to him whom a lamenting fortune hath left most comfortless; by him to his friends that have equal portions in this sorrow." This veiled allusion is made clear by the lines prefixed to the work by John Trussell, a Catholic man of letters who published it :

*You glorying issues of that glorious Dame,
Whose life is made the subject of deaths will :
To you, succeeding hopes of mothers fame,
I dedicate this fruit of Southwel's quill :
He for your unckles comfort first it writ,
I for your consolation print and send you it.*

The persons referred to here are named previously as "the Worshipfull M. Richard Sackvile, Edward Sackvile, Cicilie Sackvile, and Anne Sackvile, the hopefull issues of the honourable Gentleman Master Robert Sackvile Esquire."³⁸ They were the children of Margaret Howard, and their uncle was Philip Howard. Southwell was clearly unable, after penning his spiritual advice, to convey his manuscript to the earl, no doubt because the latter was kept a close prisoner in the Tower; for we find the following words, in the preface of "the author to the reader" : "I think the philosopher's rule will be here verified — that it shall be the last in execution that was first designed, and he last enjoy the effect that was first mover of the cause."³⁹ Consequently, as in the case of the *Letters*, the Jesuit decided to send the *Triumphs*

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 40, § 17.

³⁸ Southwell's poems, (*St Peter's Complaint* etc.), 1636 ed., Sigs Q 11-12. *The triumphs over death*, ed. by J. W. TROTMAN, pp. x-xi.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. xv.

abroad, at least in manuscript form, so that the work might serve to the edification of all Catholics.

The date of the work is known with certainty, one of the manuscripts ending with the words, "The last of September, 1591."⁴⁰ Two years had gone by, therefore, since the writer had penned the *Letter to his father*, and there was room, in his space of time, for development in his style. The difference which strikes one first, however, is in the tone, which is neither so stern, nor so gloomy as in the former piece. There was no need for sharp expostulation in the case of the earl of Arundel; it was enough to bring him the comfort of Christian resignation coupled with the consolations of ancient philosophy; to advise him to temper grief with reason as well as with piety, and to keep an equal balance of mind and soul. The *Triumphs* are therefore the very reverse of Southwell's more passionate moods. Their inspiration is the acme of Jesuit "indifferency" coupled with classical moderation. No wonder that the Catholic editor of the work, John Trussell, remembering that Latin literature had also produced many letters and treatises of condolence, should have referred to the author, a little loosely perhaps, as "our Second-Ciceronian Southwell."⁴¹

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We are almost wholly in the dark as to the time at which the Jesuit wrote the *Short rule of good life*. If the conclusions arrived at by a comparison of the dates of his other works be extended to this piece, it ought to belong to the latter part of his career, and this is why we mention it here. According to More, who used the evidence provided by the poet's *Epistolae familiares*, now lost to us, it was composed for the Countess of Arundel: "For her, More says, he wrote the *Rule of good life*, which being later put in type, was profitable to many."⁴² It seems indeed natural that Southwell, acting as a spiritual adviser, should prescribe rules of conduct for the Countess herself and her household;

⁴⁰ Stonyhurst MS. A. v. 27, printed in the *Triumphs over death*, ed. by J. W. Trotman, London 1914, p. 34. In John Trussell's verse dedication of the work to the children of Margaret Sackville, as reprinted by GROSART (*op. cit.*, p. xxi) from the 1620 edition of Southwell's works, the following lines occur:

To you, succeeding hopes of mother's fame,
I dedicate this first of Southwell's quill.

This might lead to some hesitancy in regard to the date of the *Triumphs*, were the reading safe; but it is not. The 1596 edition, reprinted by J. W. Trotman, has "fruit" instead of "first" (p. xi), and the line was similarly corrected in the 1636 edition of the *Works*, (Sig. Q. 12^a), which is but a re-issue of the 1620 edition.

⁴¹ In his second verse dedication, *ibid.*, p. xii.

⁴² MORE, *op. cit.*, p. 185: "Illius (Comitissae de Arondel) causâ scripsit regulam benè viuendi quae deinde typis mandata pluribus profuit." Fr Pollen's notes at Farm Street have an entry, between November 1591 and 1592, to the effect that the "*Short rules* are said to have been Southwell's last writing." Fr Pollen's usual accuracy makes it certain that he had some evidence for this, but we have not been able to discover it.

yet the "method and order" here proposed seem to have a more general purpose; and besides the printed edition of the *Rule* begins with a dedication signed R. S., "To my deare affected friend M. D. S. Gentleman,"⁴³ which is a typical instance of Southwell's "Euphuistic" vein. It is quite possible after all that the *Rule* may have been written for the use of Lady Arundel, and when sent abroad for the benefit of all Catholics, dedicated to some other person. When or how it was published or disseminated is scarcely less mysterious. The first known edition is later than 1595, for it refers in its preface to the author's martyrdom, and the title-page states that it is "newly set forth, according to the Authors direction, before his death."⁴⁴ This might possibly point to an earlier edition, if the adverb "newly" was understood in the rare sense of "anew." But its meaning is no doubt "lately," and we must conclude that Southwell had prepared the work for publication shortly before being imprisoned, but was prevented by his capture from seeing it through the press.

In regard to its literary character and value, the *Rule* holds a rather peculiar position. Southwell penned it for a purpose of spiritual usefulness. There was no room here — except in the dedication, where a flourish was not out of place — for flowers of style; the essential quality to be aimed at was a convincing clearness. The work had in fact the same end in view as St Ignatius' *Exercises*, that is, first to prove that the dilemma with which man is confronted cannot by any means be escaped; that he has to choose between salvation and damnation, and that the only way to the former is virtue; that the latter can be attained by means of a method, of which the *Rule* provides a carefully traced out plan. We are here reminded of those among Southwell's meditations which are meant to guide his own behaviour. Of course, like those meditations, the *Rule* has a colour of its own, in which the Jesuit's temperament is reflected; it prescribes the same general attitude as the *Constitutions* of the Society of Jesus, but it adds to them a touch of homeliness which is purely English, and a sweetness which belongs to Southwell only. Leaving aside for the present a full discussion of the peculiarities of this work, we shall only notice that it seems to be in the line of Southwell's literary progress. Preciosity has wholly vanished from it. The style is beautifully direct and simple, easy though not monotonous; the sentences are harmonious and finely rounded off. It is almost perfect English prose.

Though we have quoted a passage of the work before,⁴⁵ a further instance from the chapter *Of the care of children* may serve to illustrate

⁴³ 1636 edition of the *Works*, sig. T8a.

⁴⁴ *A short rule of good life*, title-page of the Lambeth library copy of the first edition (see bibliography).

⁴⁵ In Chapt. IV.

the above remarks : "When they are fit to goe to schoole, I must procure that they have discreet and calme teachers, such as are not cholericke, hastie, or curst, lest they take dislike and tediousnesse in learning; for they must bee rather wonne unto it by praise and emulation of others, than by bayting and stripes; I must see that they be taught such civilitie, courtesie, and complements, as their degree and the time requireth, and frame them as much as may bee, to be gentle, humble, and affable even to the meanest, rebuking them for angry and sharpe words, or disdainefull behaviour, even to their inferiours: I must not suffer the boyes and girles to bee much together, especially out of sight, after eight or nine yeares of age, lest they fall to unhappinesse : Likewise my daughters must not bee amongst the men, nor my sonnes amongst the women."⁴⁶ There is art even in this plainness; the very affectations which Southwell now discarded — though his dedication show that he did not actually shrink from them — trained him in the practice of a pleasing rhythm, which his now more refined taste freed from all excess.

The gradual change in his style, in fact, corresponds to a change in the causes which led him to write, as well as to the development of his personality. The longer he stayed in England, the fiercer the persecution became, and the more eager he must have been to fight with his pen on the Catholic side. For this a suitable controversial means of expression was needed; and such a means of expression he was now the master of. The growing severity of the penal laws soon gave him occasion to put it to use. In a proclamation, dated October 18th, 1591, Queen Elizabeth (no doubt actuated by her ministers) attempted to counteract the efforts of the seminary priests, which had a heartening effect upon Catholicism in England. They were described as the political agents of Philip II. The king of Spain, it was stated, had plotted with certain "seditious heads" among the queen's subjects, to "gather together... a multitude of dissolute young men, who haue partly for lacke of liuing, partely for crimes committed, become Fugitiues, Rebelles, and Traitors, and for whom there are in Rome, and Spaine, and other places certaine receptacles made to liue in, and there to be instructed in Schoole pointes of sedition." They were then "by stealth conueyed" into the realm, and used spiritual weapons — the promise of salvation or threat of damnation — in order to persuade their countrymen to renounce their allegiance to their sovereign, and help in a Spanish invasion. Those men were not prosecuted "for any poynts of religion," but "for high treasons"; indeed, it was manifest that lay Catholics enjoyed liberty of conscience and were subjected to no other restraint than "payment of a pecuniary summe."⁴⁷

⁴⁶ 1636 edition of the *Works*, sig. X 10a.

⁴⁷ *A declaration of great troubles pretended against the Realme &c.*, vol. I. This proclamation is found in the British Museum collection of proclamations at its proper

The inaccuracy of this last statement need not surprise in an age which was true to Macchiavelli's advice to use any weapons so long as the occasion was a political one. The slanderous statements of the proclamation must have been particularly galling to such men as Southwell, whom a long stay abroad had not deprived of a truly English pride in their gentle birth and all that it implied in regard to private and public virtues. Therefore the Jesuit lost no time in clearing the Catholic missionaries from the imputation of disloyalty; within a few weeks after the proclamation had been issued — as we know from his allusion to a contemporary trial⁴⁸ — he was at work composing an answer, the *Humble supplication to her Majestie*, which was no doubt circulated in manuscript. The first and only printed edition was published in 1600 by the Appellant party during the Archpriest controversy⁴⁹; the date of December 14, 1595, which it bears *in fine*, is obviously wrong as regards the year, but probably true as regards the month and day, which should be referred to the year 1591.⁵⁰

Southwell's only aim is now to prove and to confute by clear, close reasoning; but he attains, in so doing, to such pathetic and forceful eloquence, that his supplication may rank among the masterpieces of English literature. The most pathetic and touching part of the work is that which describes the sufferings of Catholics, who stand outside the protection of the law, a ready object for the wreaking of every private vengeance, and who when arrested, must undergo the most barbarous torments. The eloquence of Southwell's pleading is here due to no tricks of style, but to the very terseness and nakedness of the diction, of which the following is a typical instance :

"In points also of our credit, hovv deeply vvee are incurred in respecte of our Religion, hovv many experiences make it most manifest ? VVe are made the common theame of euery rayling declaymer, abused vvithout meanes or hope of remedie, by euery wretch with most infamous names : no tongue so forsworne, but it is of credit against vs : none so

date. Latin text in Sanders, *Historia Schismatis Anglicani*, ed. Cologne 1628, Appendix pp. 61-68.

⁴⁸ *Supplication*, ed. 1595 (1600) p. 58-59. Southwell refers to the "last arraignment of three priests at Westminster, since the proclamation." These were Edmund Genings, Polydor Pladsen, and Eustach White, caught by Topcliffe on Nov. 8, 1591, tried at Westminster Hall on Dec. 4 and executed on Dec. 10. Since Southwell mentions the trial only, it looks as if the passage and probably the whole of the *Supplication* had been completed before Dec. 10, or at any rate before the news of the execution reached him. For particulars concerning the three priests cf. Joseph SPILLMANN, *Geschichte der Katholikenverfolgung in England*, Dritter Teil, pp. 264-285.

⁴⁹ Cf. GILLOW, *Dictionary of English Catholics*, sub nom Southwell; Fr. THURSTON, in *The Month*, vol LXXXIII, pp. 387-388; Fr. POLLEN, *ibid.*, vol. XCIX, p. 93. Gillow states that the book was published by the Jesuit party but this seems to be a mistake.

⁵⁰ Cf. same authorities as above. If the *Supplication* was completed on Dec. 14, 1591, it is not impossible that Southwell if he was out of London, may not by then have heard of the execution of the three priests.

true, but it is thought false in our defence; our slaunders are common workes for idle presses, and our credits are daylie sould at the stationers staules, euerie Libeller repaying his vvantes, vvith impaying our honours, being sure that vvhen other matters faile, any Pamphlets against vs shall euer be vvelcomed, vvithseene, as [also] allowed. If wee keepe Hospitalitie vve are censured to be too popular; if vve forbear, vve hoarde vppe monie for secret purposes : if vve be merrie, vve are fedde vvith forraine hopes; if sad, vve are malecontent vvith the state at home. If vvee subscribe to Articles, it must be called Hipocrisie : if we refuse disloyaltie..."⁵¹ There would be no point in quoting more. Our only purpose for the present is to find out whether Southwell's prose works stand in regard to one another in a merely haphazard order, or whether a line of development can be traced. Let us therefore tabulate the results of our investigation :

TITLE OF WORK	DATE	STYLE
	All works completed before June 24 th 1592	
The prose fragment at Stonyhurst	Before May 8 th , 1586 (Rome)	Strongly Euphuistic
A hundred meditations on the love of God	After January 1 st , 1585	Not Euphuistic, though ornate; homely in places. (follows the Italian original)
Mary Magdalens funerall teares	Based on a translation made at Rome, before May 8 th , 1586 ; completed before November 8 th , 1591.	Parallel and contrasted prose, with conceits.
Epistle of comfort	Shortly before December 15 th , 1587	A succession of beautiful similes, still Euphuistic
Southwell's letter to his brother	Before October 22 nd , 1589	Detached paragraphs of parallel cast
His letter to his father	October 22 nd , 1589	
Triumphs over death	September 30 th , 1591	Very much the same
Short rule of good life	Date unknown	Euphuistic dedication; the text very plain and homely.
Humble supplication	After October 18 th , 1591, and before the end of the year ; probably December 14 th .	Clear, direct and forcible controversial prose.

Now it is of course obvious that the variations in style largely correspond to variations in the character of the several works, and that,

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

as in the case of the *Short rule*, two different styles may have been used at the same time for different purposes; nevertheless, taking things all in all, it seems difficult to escape the conclusion outlined above : when his literary career was brought to an untimely close, Southwell, owing both to an internal progress and to the force of external circumstances, was fast forgetting the affectations of his Italian years; affectations which were indeed the outgrowth of classical rhetoric, but in a perverted and decadent form. He had reverted to a combination of homely mellowness with classical clearness, preciseness and logicity, which might have made him one of the masters of English prose. In the neo-classicism he had imbibed at Douay, Paris and Rome, there were indeed two elements : on the one hand preciosity, on the other sententiousness, revealed in the packing of each particular thought into one paragraph, as in the *Triumphs*, or into one stanza, as in *St Peters complaint*. It seems from the above table that Southwell, starting from the former, made his way through the latter to what was to be the finished product of his mature craftsmanship.

* * * * *

We have now come to the hardest part of our task. The difficulties met with in dealing with Southwell's verse are even greater than those which arise in connection with his prose. Not a single one of his poems was published during his lifetime, and little information is obtainable from posthumous editions. A few facts can however be ascertained, and will be mentioned to begin with. First of all, not a single one of his extant poems was composed after the date of his capture, May 26th, 1592; not a single one of them was written in the Tower. Fr Garnet's statement to the effect that he had neither ink nor paper during his imprisonment settles the question finally.

Surprisingly enough, the task of establishing the "canon" of Southwell's verse is far easier than in regard to most Elizabethan poets. The Jesuit was not one of those reckless spirits who flung their effusions to the four winds, and let them shift for themselves afterwards; but, as we know from his early manuscripts, a man of neat, precise habits, who besides wrote with a purpose, and was concerned in the fate of his productions. We have not met with any Catholic poem of the period which might, from its style and character, be reasonably ascribed to him; nor is there any reason to doubt the authorship of anyone of the poems published under his name in the manuscripts or printed editions. It should be borne in mind however that several publishers made free with his initials in order to take advantage of his wide fame, and to palm off inferior wares upon the public. Such is the case for

the *Foure-fould meditation of the foure last things (the Houre of Death, the Day of Iudgment, the Paines of Hell and the Ioyes of Heaven)* which need hardly have been mentioned here at all, had it not been again referred to as being Southwell's, in the latest edition of the poet's verse.⁵² The poem was printed in 1606, with the following mention on the title page : "by R. S., the author of Saint Peter's Complaint." However Fr. Thurston has been able to prove conclusively that the ascription to Southwell was a false one.⁵³

Let us rehearse the facts which can be ascertained through an examination of the printed editions. All of these are later than Southwell's death. According to their contents, they fall from the first into two groups : the former including *Saint Peters Complaynt*, together with the poems which Grosart prints as *Myrtae*, up to *From Fortune's reach* and including it; to these are also added *The Nativity of Christe* and *Christes childhoode*, which in Grosart's edition are found among the *Maeoniae*. The other group is made up of Grosart's *Maeoniae*, with the exception of the two pieces just mentioned, and also of *Joseph's amazement*. As regards the titles of the first series of editions, the pieces of the former group were printed as *Saint Peters Complaynt with other poems*, by two different publishers at the same time; while those which constitute the second group were printed as *Maeoniae, or, certaine excellent Poems and spiritual Hymnes : Omitted in the last Impression of Peter's Complaint*. Now we know that Southwell himself had prepared the *Saint Peter* volume; for it begins with a dedication in prose, *The author to his louing cosin*,⁵⁴ followed by two short prefaces in verse, both entitled *The avthovr to the reader*.⁵⁵ The latter of these directly refers to *Saint Peters Complaint*, hence the former and the dedication, which are couched in more general terms, must cover the whole volume. The systematic arrangement of the poems which follow the *Complaint* again points to careful editing by the author himself.

The dedication and prefaces are indeed the literary proclamations of the Jesuit school in England. They would sound differently if the work they introduce were not the first one published by Southwell, or at any rate the first volume of poetry; and there is further reason to assign an early date to its composition. We have stated our motives for considering *Mary Magdalens Teares* as a juvenile effort. Now in the second set of lines, *The Avthovr to the reader*, Southwell makes it

⁵² C. M. Hood, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

⁵³ In the *Month*, January 1896, article headed *Catholic writers and Elizabethan readers*, IV, Philip earl of Arundel. The article supplies full references.

⁵⁴ GROSART'S edition, p. 4.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 7 and 9.

clear that he has been working at the *Complaint* and at *Teares* at the same time, and mentions them, so to say, in the same breath :

This makes my mourning Muse resolute in teares,
This theames my heauie penne to plaine in prose.⁵⁶

On the whole, since the *Saint Peter* volume belongs to the same period as *Mary Magdalens Teares*, and since Southwell had the time to prepare it for publication in manuscript or printed form, it seems reasonable to consider it as earlier than the *Maeoniae*, which bear no trace of a similar preparation. Internal evidence wholly confirms such a surmise.

A fuller edition of *Saint Peters Complaint*, which Grosart assigned to the year 1596, was printed some years later, once again by two different publishers.⁵⁷ It is in one case undated, though certainly not earlier than 1602; in the other case, it bears the date 1602. It includes seven new pieces, among these being the famous *Burning babe*. They are found at the end of the *Myrtæ* in Grosart's edition, which however places one of them, *Josephe's amazement*, among the *Maeoniae*. Why these pieces were thus delayed in the publishing does not appear from internal or external evidence. To them must again be added five poems, which for obvious reasons were left out of the three series of original editions above mentioned : *Decease*, *Release*, and *I dye without desert*, which implied condemnation of Elizabeth's religious policy; *Of the blessed Sacrament of the aulter*, in which the writer asserted his belief in the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist;⁵⁸ and the verse dedications prefixed to the *Triumphs over death* (Latin and English) and the *Short rule of good life*. *Of the blessed sacrament* was included in a new edition which could be made professedly Catholic, since it was published at Douay in Flanders in 1616 and 1620. This volume is a fuller collection of the poet's works than had ever been published before, since it contains, in addition to *Saint Peters Complaint*, *Mary Magdalens Teares* and a selection of the detached pieces under fancy titles. It may have suggested the publication in England of the whole of the non-controversial works, verse and prose, which took place in 1620, this collected edition being again reprinted in 1630, 1634 and 1636.

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Briefly, the comparison of the several editions leads us to a division of Southwell's poems into four groups : the two collections mentioned

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁵⁷ For this, as for all others editions, see below, bibliography.

⁵⁸ It should be noticed however that although in *Saint Thomas of Aquines hymne read on Corpus Christi daye* (*Lauda Sion Salvatorem*) the doctrine of transsubstantiation be found full-blown, the poem was printed in the 1596 edition of *Maeoniae*; but in later editions (1630 to 1636) it appears in a garbled form, and is made to fit in with official theology.

to begin with, the additional poems of 1602, and the additional poems of 1616. The 1602 poems were apparently remnants which had come to light in course of time, while the 1616 poems had been kept back until then for reasons which had nothing to do with literature as such. We shall keep those facts in mind when we come to the internal study of the poems. Meanwhile, if we turn to the four extant manuscripts of Southwell's verse compositions, we shall find that they provide no help towards their dating. We shall not for the present attempt the task of comparing them in detail and establishing the order of descent among them. Suffice it to say that a careful examination of their lessons shows that no one of them is original. The variations in each case are obviously not in the nature of an author's corrections, but of mistakes made by clumsy scribes. The four manuscripts seem to be late, possibly even copied from printed editions. The best one among them is that which is preserved at Stonyhurst College. On it Grosart based his text, in the belief that the emendations were in Southwell's own hand, and that consequently the volume provided the original version of the poems.⁵⁹ As a matter of fact, the arrangement of the various pieces which it contains is certainly late, for they follow each other in an entirely haphazard fashion, which bears no relation either to the English or continental editions. First come the prose dedications and one of the two verse dedications with which the *Saint Peter* volume of 1595 begins; then most of the *Maeoniae* of 1595, mixed up with other poems; then *Saint Peters complaint*, followed by the *Saint Peter* poems mixed with others. Now there is a mystery about this manuscript, for the *Complaint* appears in it, not in its final shape, but as an early draft of twelve stanzas only; and the same version is found in Harleian MS. 6921. No conclusion will be ventured for the present as to the reasons for the divergences between these texts and that of the printed volumes. The random order in which the various pieces occur seems to point to collections made for private use; anyhow, no clue is here available as to the primitive dates of composition.

If additional evidence be sought in Southwell's individual poems whereby to determine the time at which they were written, the search will again prove almost entirely disappointing. The fact that the Jesuit frequently imitated contemporary poetry does not help much; for the pieces which he turned to pious uses are themselves undated, or were indited previous to the beginning of his own literary career. Two pieces only can be referred to contemporary events, and dated with certainty. The first one is the beautiful poem entitled *Decease, Release, Dum morior, orior*, which Walter was the first to print in the year 1817, and

⁵⁹ That he was mistaken is shown in Appendix V, where something is said of the relation between the various manuscripts. For particulars of these, refer to *Bibliography*.

to refer to the death of Mary Queen of Scots.⁶⁰ The allusions in it are throughout so clear as to leave no room for doubt; thus we know that it was written soon after Mary's execution, which took place on February 8th, 1587. The second poem is *I dye without desert*, which both Walter and Grosart refer to the same occasion. But Fr J. H. Pollen has shown conclusively that the person alluded to in it was Philip Howard.⁶¹ The piece must have been composed shortly after the earl was condemned to death, on April 14th, 1589.

To these may be added the lines prefixed to the *Triumphs over death*, which were, like the work they introduce, written some time before September 30th, 1591. Grosart thought that in his preface to *Saint Peters complaint*, Southwell had referred to *Venus and Adonis*, to which his poems would then be a pious rejoinder. The allusion, he said, was found in the following lines :

Stil finest wits are stilling Venvs' rose,
In Paynim toyes the sweetest vaines are spent;
To Christian workes few haue their talents lent.⁶²

But apart from the fact that such an expression may have been used in a general sense, *Venus and Adonis* was only published in 1593; and since there is no reason to think that Southwell wrote a single line in the Tower, Grosart's conjecture is wholly unfounded. Add that when *Venus and Adonis* appeared, the Jesuit's poem was already being circulated in manuscript form, as is shown by the examination of John Bolt on March 21st, 1593.⁶³

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Thus we have been able to divide up the field of our inquiry into four regions, and to establish three landmarks. No further data of an external kind are, for the present, available, though wider research may bring new evidence to light. We must therefore turn to an internal study of Southwell's verse writings. Of course his vocabulary or even his style did not vary much in the space of six years during which all his English works were composed. Nor can the gradual disappearance of his preciosity be considered as an absolutely safe test, since to the very end he reverted to conceitism whenever he wished to make a display of literary elegance. Yet if we consider the subjects and

⁶⁰ *St Peter's Complaint*, and other poems, ed. by Jos. Walter, pp. 96-98; *Complete poems*, Grosart's ed., pp. 171-172.

⁶¹ *C. R. S.*, vol. xxi, *The Ven. Philip Howard*, p. 323.

⁶² *Complete poems*, Grosart's ed., Memorial-Introduction, p. xc.

⁶³ *State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. ccxlviii, N° 37 (*Calendar of State Papers*, 1591, N° 94, p. 467.)

grouping of his lyrics, the depth and simplicity of his emotion, and more than anything else, the mould into which he cast his thoughts, the build of his stanzas, his choice of a suitable metre, we shall meet with variations sufficient to check our previous conclusions. It should not be forgotten that Southwell started with an almost wholly classical upbringing and that his gradual departure from the classical attitude of mind measures the distance which he had at any given time travelled among purely English influences.

In regard to their contents, the *Saint Peter* collection and the *Maeoniae* are strikingly different. Out of the twenty pieces in the original edition of the former, six can hardly be considered as lyrics at all, since they are nothing more than versified advice to the reader for the practical conduct of his life.⁶⁴ Ten more are variations on the theme of life, death and love, which is a mere transposition into English of the "mors, vita, vota" of the Latin poems.⁶⁵ The last four might seem to belong to a different class; their titles suggest devotional feeling rather than wit; yet the poetical treatment of the themes is not in accordance with their nature. *Mary Magdalen's blushe* is quite as artificial, in its way, as *Mary Magdalen's teares*, and provides a fine instance of Southwell's earlier rhetorical vein, in which his chief aim is to express his thoughts both as tersely and as strikingly as possible. He achieves this result by means of exact symmetry in construction, according to the following plan : each line is cut up into corresponding parts, the first one containing for instance the subjects of four clauses the second one the verbs, and so on; the sense thus running in parallel columns down the stanza :

O sence ! O soule ! O had ! O hopèd blisse !
Yow woe, yow weane; yow drawe, yow drive me backe...⁶⁶

Looke home suggests by its title a yearning for heaven, a pining away on earth; yet it pleases the mind by its cleverness rather than it moves the heart. The two poems on *The Nativity of Christe* and *Christe's childhood* would rather belong, if the subjects alone were considered, to the cycle of "Gospel" lyrics of the *Maeoniae*; this is, in fact, where Grosart prints them, according to their place in the sequence of events.⁶⁷ And yet, in his edition, they are out of keeping

⁶⁴ See Chapt. X.

⁶⁵ See Chapt. X.

⁶⁶ *Complete poems*, Grosart's ed., p. 60.

⁶⁷ The following words are found in the preface to the 1596 edition of *Maeoniae* : "One thing amongst the rest I am to admonish thee of, that hauing in this treatise read Marie's Visitation, the next that should follow is Christ's Natiuity; but being afore printed in the end of Peter's Complaint, we haue heere of purpose omitted : that thou shouldest not be abridged of that and the other like comforts which that other treatise

with the poems that precede and follow them; for they altogether miss the emotional possibilities of the Gospel narrative. For the description of the scene at Bethlehem are substituted rhetorical exclamations on the contrast between God's greatness and the lowliness of Jesus, and conceits on God's gift of himself in the Incarnation, which might less improperly be termed puns :

Behould the father is His daughter's sonne,
The bird that built the nest is hatchd therein,
The old of yeres an hower hath not outrunne,
Eternall life to live doth nowe beginn...
The gift doth here the giver given bestowe,
Gift to this gift lett ech receiver bee...⁶⁸

Christes Childhoode, though not too devoid of good taste, is on the whole in the same vein. Striking contrasts are sought, as in the lines :

In springing lockes lay couchèd hoary witt,
In semblance younge, a grave and auncient port...⁶⁹

The attitude of the boy Jesus seems to be modelled after the pattern of classical — and Jesuit — moderation :

His mirth, of modest meane a mirrhour was,
His sadness, tempred with a mylde aspect...⁷⁰

If we now turn to the original *Maconiae*, we shall find that these twenty-two pieces of varying length cannot be treated as a whole, but that they vary widely in character. Those which deal with the life of the Virgin Mary and her son may be considered as forming a sort of cycle of twelve poems, which tallies with the directions given to their pupils by Jesuit professors. The metre is the same throughout, that of *Saint Peters complaint* and *Venus and Adonis*; two of the poems extend to seven stanzas⁷¹ (*Christe's sleeping frendes* and *Christ's bloody sweate*); and one to four (*The Epiphanye*); but all the others have three stanzas only, while two unprinted pieces (*The death of our Ladie* and *The assumption of our lady*), which are found in the manuscripts, and were probably kept out of the published volumes for fear of official

profereth thee." (*Complete poems*, Grosart's ed., p. 114) The purpose of these words may of course merely have been to push the sale of the *Saint Peter* volume, though the printer was not the same.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 128.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 136.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 137.

⁷¹ Three of the stanzas of *Christes bloudie sweate* are only found in a manuscript (Harmsworth MS. C3v) from which they were copied for use in the present work by an American scholar, Fr James H. McDonald, C. S. C.

ensorship, are exactly similar in regard to their outward form and character. That this character is still highly artificial is shown by such a piece as *Christ's bloody sweate*, the first two stanzas of which illustrate the above-mentioned trick of running images in parallel columns :

Fatt soyle, full springe, sweete olive, grape of blesse,
That yeldes, that streames, that poures, that dost distill,
Untild, undrawne, unstampde, untouchd of press...⁷²

The *Flight into Egypt* recalls the poet's juvenile taste for verbal oppositions :

Alas ! our Day is forc'd to flye by nighte !
Light without light, and sunne by silent shade...⁷³

Many similar instances of this word inlay may be found in most of the "Gospel" pieces. Indeed, they might seem to belong altogether to the same class as the *Saint Peter* poems, so great is the likeness in regard to metre and style. And yet the scriptural part of the *Maenoniae* leaves the reader with a different impression. The change in the nature of the subjects is no sufficient explanation in itself; there was ample room for lyrical raptures in *A childe my choyse* or *At home in heaven*. It seems as if the satisfaction formely afforded to the poet by mere technical agility were gradually passing away. We now meet with a simple, sweet, childlike emotion, which recalls the tenderness of the Latin effusions, as in the concluding stanza of *The Epiphanye* :

Three giftes they bringe, three giftes they beare awaye;
For incense, myrrhe and gould, faith, hope and love;
And with their giftes the givers' hartes do staye,
Their mynde from Christ no parting can remove...⁷⁴

The "three giftes" might have given occasion to the construction of a fully worked out conceit; but the image here is perfectly in keeping with the naïve homeliness of the scene. *The Circumcision* was a subject which required the finest nicety of good taste in the handling. Southwell's warmth and greatness of heart carry him through the difficulty :

With weeping eyes His mother reu'd His smart,
If bloode from Him, teares rann from her as fast;
The knife that cutt His fleshe did perce her hart,
The payne that Jesus felt did Marye tast...⁷⁵

In *The Presentation*, Southwell's personality is not hidden by his craftsmanship, but revealed in his description of the scene in which

⁷² *Complete poems*, p. 137.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 134.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 132.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 131.

old Simeon takes the infant Christ in his arms. The picture is complete in four lines, and adds a touch of homely gentleness to the prophetic enthusiasm of the Gospel narrative :

Old Simeon cheap penyworth and sweete
Obteyn'd, when Thee in armes he did embrace;
His weeping eyes Thy smyling lookes did meete,
Thy love his hart, Thy kisses blissed his face...⁷⁶

We need not further enlarge on the "Gospel" poems for the present. They show an advance on the *Saint Peter* pieces in regard to plainness and genuineness of feeling. If we compare the former to the latter in regard to the expression of the thought, although there be much in common between them, some difference is also noticeable. The sententiousness of neo-classicism leads, it is true, to a similarity in the build of the lines and stanzas. One favourite form is found all through the *Saint Peter* poems and the scriptural part of *Maeoniae*. It is directly imitated from the Latin and consists in the placing side by side of two parallel clauses composed each of a subject and object, the common verb being expressed in the second clause only. Numerous instances of this are met with, as in *Lewd love is losse* :

Sparkes to the fire, the beames yeld to the sunne...⁷⁷

in *The Presentation* :

Thy love his heart, thy kisses blissd his face...⁷⁸

in *The Visitation*, with the verb in a different place :

Her child from harm, her self from fall to save...⁷⁹

But if we turn to properly rhetorical tricks of style, we find that they are being gradually discarded by Southwell. In *Saint Peters Complaint*, as in the prose of *Mary Magdalen's teares*, the use of apostrophes is so constant as to become tiresome. Here are, for instance, the first lines of stanza XXIII of the *Complaint* :

Ah, tongue, that didst his prayse and Godhead sound,
How wert thou stain'd with such detesting words...⁸⁰

of stanza XLIII :

O hateful fire (ah ! that I euer saw it !)
Too hard my hart was frozen for thy force...⁸¹

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 133.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 133.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 127.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

The practice of beginning a stanza with an exclamatory form of address is still fairly general in the *Saint Peter* pieces. It is only occasional in the "Gospel" pieces. We still find instances of it in *The Presentation* :

O Virgin pure ! thou dost these doves presente
As due to lawe, not as an equall price...⁸²

also in *Christe's sleeping frendes* :

O gracious plante ! O tree of heavenly springe !
The paragon for leafe, for fruite and floure...⁸³

But on the whole the poems now run more evenly, without being brought up sharply every second line by an interjection. The change in spirit in the *Mæonia* is even more striking if we consider another feature of the *Saint Peter* poems, which is embodied in what we may call the "definition" stanza, and manifests one of the intellectual tendencies of neo-classicalism. The poet takes up a certain fact or idea, and throws light upon it from every possible side, by means of a succession or descriptive phrases, which express with elliptical conciseness, with aptness and strength, its various aspects and consequences. The best-known instance is the very passage in which Grosart mistakenly saw an allusion to Southwell's prison-sleep⁸⁴. Other stanzas supply equally good examples :

Ah, coole remisnes ! Virtue's quartane feuer,
Pynning of loue, consumption of grace;
Old in the cradle, languor dying euer,
Soule's wilfull famine, sinne's soft-stealing pase ;
The undermining euill of zealous thought,
Seeming to bring no harmes, till all be brought.⁸⁵

Stanzas of a similar cast constantly recur in *Saint Peters Complaint*, where they are far more frequent than in Southwell's Italian model, the *Lagrima di San Pietro* of Tansillo. They are still occasionally found in the poems printed in the same original volume, as in *What joy to live* :

Here bewty is a bayte that, swallowed, choakes,
A treasure sought still to the owner's harmes ;
A light that eyes to murthering sightes provokes,
A grace that soules enchaunts with mortall charmes ;
A luringe ayme to Cupid's fiery flightes,
A balefull blisse that damnes where it delightes.⁸⁶

⁸² *Complete poems*, Grosart's ed., p. 133.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 140.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. lvi.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 19, st xxxv.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 85-86, st. iv.

But they are altogether absent in the "Gospel" pieces, though a lingering trace of the same use of a symmetrical frame for the expression of thought be found in an occasional line in which parallel epithets are used, as for instance in *The Presentation* :

O eyes ! O hart ! meane sightes and loves avoyde...⁸⁷

* * * * *

If we consider both the variation in the poet's mood, and the consequent variation in his craftsmanship, a line of development can be traced, of which *Saint Peters Complaint*, the poems published with it, and the "Gospel" pieces in the *Mæoniæ* are the successive stages. Yet up to the present point, the differences which we have pointed out are mostly in degree, not in kind. In the main, the poet's inspiration remains the same as in the Latin pieces, a peculiar combination of skill in the expression of thought with a gentle, soft warmth of devotional feeling. If we now turn to the ten pieces which make up the latter part of the *Mæoniæ*, the change is sudden and complete. Leaving aside *Saint Thomas of Aquines hymne read on Corpus Christi daye*, which is a very effective, but fairly literal, translation of the hymn *Lauda Sion salvatorem*, we feel that we are at last face to face with all that is most earnest and sincere, deepest and most intimate in the poet's nature ; while this impression is confirmed by his entire discarding of the *Saint Peter* stanza, and his choice of new, simpler, more popular metrical forms. The contrast strikes one forcibly on comparing with the above-mentioned "Gospel" cycle three further pieces, of which the subjects are borrowed from Scripture. *The Virgin Mary to Christ on the Crosse* is wholly free from affectation, if not from all subtlety of thought ; no trace of Italian preciousness is left here ; the consummate art of the poet ends in simplicity akin to that of folk-literature :

Iesus ! my loue, my Sonne, my God, behold Thy mother washt in teares :
Thy bloudie woundes be made a rod to chasten these my latter yeares.

You cruell Iewes, come worke your ire, vpon this worthless flesh of mine :
And kindle not eternall fire, by wounding Him which is diuine.⁸⁸

In the two pieces headed *Saint Peter's afflicted mynde* and *Saint Peter's remorse*, which are really but one, Southwell again turns to the theme of *Saint Peters Complaint*; but he now handles it in an utterly different vein. Are we to suppose that the Jesuit wished to provide spiritual food for every class of the people, and bade his Muse dress up by turns in satin or drugget, in order to win her way to the

⁸⁷ *Complete poems*, Grosart's ed., p. 133.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 144.

hearts of courtiers or craftsmen ? Even if this were so, the change from the *Complaint* might hardly be accounted for by purely external motives. It is complete both in versification, diction and feeling. The metre is now that of the most popular and unadorned form of poetry, the ballad. Images are still used, but such as suggest themselves naturally, and add to the emotion instead of detracting from it :

My malidyē is synne
And languor of the mynde ;
My body but a lazar's couche
Wherein my soule is pynde.

And lastly, Peter's obstinate, rhetorical lamenting is replaced by a direct, trustful appeal to God's mercy, which reminds one of the beautiful "Recordare, Jesu pie" of the *Dies Irae* :

It is a small releife
To say I was thy childe,
If, as an evell-deserving foe,
From grace I be exile.⁸⁹

As in the Latin devotions and in some of the Latin poems, the sadder, wistfuller side of Southwell's devotional feelings, finds expression in the latter part of the *Maenoniae*. He is oppressed with the sense of his own sinfulness and unworthiness, as in *Man to the wound in Christ's side*, which is also very plain :

O pleasant port ! O place of rest !
O royal rift ! O worthy wound !
Come harbour me, a weary guest,
That in the world no ease haue found !⁹⁰

Upon the image of Death betrays the same feeling in an even homelier way. We reserve for a later chapter a full consideration of this poem, as well as of the next three, which are surprisingly gloomy variations on the theme of remorse, *A vale of teares*, *The prodigall chyld's soule wracke*, *Man's civil warre*. To all of these the same general remarks may be applied. In the last poem, *Seeke flowers of Heaven*, Southwell describes the purely spiritual beauties of Paradise as forming the various parts of immaterial plants; this abstract botany is reminiscent of his former conceits. Yet the opening stanza is beautifully simple :

Soare upp, my soule, unto thy reste,
Cast off this loathsome loadē ;
Long is the date of thy exile,
Too long thy straite aboade.⁹¹

⁸⁹ *Complete poems*, Grosart's ed., pp. 149-152.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 153.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 167.

Southwell's plainness in lyrics of this type no doubt derives much of its inspiration from Christian hymnology. But whatever the part of imitation, it seems hard to imagine that he had undergone no inner change since the time when he used to revel in mere verbal quibbles.

If we now consider the poems added to the 1602 edition, we shall find that they belong both to the concettist and to the homely class. *Dyer's phancy turned to a sinner's complainte* is a mere adaptation of a popular lyric. *Joseph's amazement* (on finding Mary pregnant) is a curious and really none too felicitous adaptation to a pious theme of the current love poetry of the day ; it may well be an imitation of the same sort as the preceding one. *David's peccavi* contains such lines as

But feares now are my pheares, greife my delight...⁹²

in which wit approaches dangerously near to punning. In *Synne's heavy loade*, the poet twice reverts to the use of apostrophe, and keeps playing upon words. The famous *Burning babe*, despite its prettiness and sweetness, contains the most hackneyed of all conceits in the lines

Who scorched with excessive heate, such floodes of teares did shedd,
As though His floodes should quench His flames which with His teares
[were fedd...⁹³

On the other hand, *New prince, new pompe*, and *New heaven, new warre*, are both tender and plain. If, as may be supposed, the 1602 poems were "remnants" gathered together by Gabriel Cawood, the publisher of the *Saint Peter* volume of 1595, in the years which followed its printing, one need scarcely marvel that they should be of a mixed description.

To conclude this survey, we must find out whether the three dated pieces fall in with the others, as classified above. Let it be frankly confessed that they do not, for all of them belong to the artificial type of poetry, whether written in 1587, 1589 or 1591. This, however, is not so much of a difficulty as if the reverse had taken place, and if they had been samples of Southwell's simpler vein ; for the persistency of the author's preciousness can be in the present case explained as a survival, due to the fact that the three poems are "ceremonial" pieces. This lifting of the tone to what was considered as a nobler level is quite in keeping with Southwell's earlier practice : witness the contrast between his Latin devotions and the Latin pieces written on festive occasions. The same thing is observable in the second and third set of lines prefixed to the *Short rule of good life*. All these pieces are in the

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 103.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 109.

metre of *Saint Peters Complaint*, and recall its rhetorical features. *Decease, release* has some touching stanzas, though still in Southwell's style of dainty delicacy :

Rue not my death, rejoyce at my repose ;
It was no death to me, but to my woe ;
The budd was opened to lett out the rose,
The cheynes unloos'd to let the captive goe.⁹⁴

But the whole of the first part of the poem is made up of a succession of similes, which are worked out in the first eight lines in parallel fashion, Mary Queen of Scots on the scaffold being compared to "pounded spice," burning incense, a "perisht kernell," and a "lopped tree." *I dye without desert* strikes a more emotional note, as it ought to do indeed, considering the poet's personal connection with Philip Howard's family ; yet though the feeling be genuine, it is expressed in sententious statements of general import, as in the second stanza, which begins, like the first, with a typical ellipsis of the article :

Relinquisht lamb, in solitarye wood,
With dying bleat doth move the toughest mynde;
The grasping pangues of new engendred brood,
Base though they be, compassion use to finde...⁹⁵

and we afterwards find a classical allusion to Fortune.

In the lines which introduce the *Triumphs over death*, Southwell clearly thinks it incumbent upon himself to make a display of classical elegance ; he begins with a Latin epigram on the lady Margaret Howard. In no case can it be better shown that artificiality of form is not exclusive of genuineness of feeling ; for Southwell's grief, which was undoubtedly deep, vents itself in this sort of ingenious trifling :

Dotibus ornavit, superavit moribus ortum,
Omnibus una prior, par fuit una sibi :
Lux genus ingenio, generi lux inclita virtus...⁹⁶

which may be Englished thus :

Her gifts adorned her birth, her manners passed it ;
Alone above the rest, herself's sole peer,
Her kind her soul, her virtues graced her kind.

The English stanzas which follow supply proof of the same verbal skill. It seems as if the mere donning of the poetical garb of *Saint Peters complaint* had been enough to revive Southwell's classicalism;

⁹⁴ *Complete poems*, Grosart's ed., p. 172.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 173.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 182.

for even the very urgent spiritual advice which precedes the *Short rule of good life*, being couched in that metre, reverts to sententiousness, the apostrophe, and symmetry. In short, the dated pieces were all written for or about persons of high rank, in a style which meant to be corresponding aristocratic; they memorized occasions on which Southwell thought it fitting to put on his poetical Sunday best. They beside the general line of his progress, and are of little value in helping to mark it out.

* * * * *

Before we leave the present subject, something must be said of the theories with which Southwell set out to reform English letters. They account for much which it would otherwise be impossible to understand in the choice and handling of his themes ; for the fact that imitation played almost as great a part as creation in his early works, and that in his later works his inspiration was nourished from the substance of the Bible and of Church liturgy. The dedications of *Saint Peters complaint* and *Mary Magdalens teares* are — in a characteristically subdued way — the call to arms heralding the Jesuit campaign for the purification of literature. The former especially shows that Southwell was true to the teachings he had received :

"Poets, by abusing their talent, and making the follies and faynings of loue the customary subiect of their base endeuours, haue so discredited this facultie, that a poet, a louer, and a lyer, are by many reckoned but three words of one signification. But the vanitie of men cannot counterpoysse the authoritie of God, who deliuering many parts of Scripture in verse, and, by His Apostle willing vs to exercise our deuotion in hymnes and spiritual sonnets, warranteth the art to be good, and the vse allowable. And therefore not onely among the heathen, whose gods were chiefly canonized by their poets, and their paynim diuinitie oracled, in verse, but euen in the Olde and Newe Testament, it hath beene vsed by men of greatest pietie, in matters of most deuotion. Christ Himselfe, by making a hymne the conclusion of His Last Supper, and the prologue to the first pageant of His Passion, gaue His Spouse a methode to imitate, as in the office of the Church it appeareth ; and to all men a patterne, to know the true vse of this measured and footed stile.

"But the deuill, as he affecteth deitie and seeketh to haue all the complements of diuine honour applyed to his seruice, so hath he among the rest possessed also most Poets with his idle fansies. For in lieu of solemne and deuout matter, to which in duety they owe their abilities, they now busie themselues in expressing such passions as onely serue for testimonies to what unworthy affections they haue

wedded their wills. And, because the best course to let them see the error of their works is to weaue a new webbe in their owne loome, I haue heere laide a few course threds together, to inuite some skilfuller wits to goe forward in the same, or to begin some finer peece ; wherein it may be seene how well verse and vertue sute together.”⁹⁷

Now remember the precepts of the Jesuit critics and teachers, whose works were summarized in the preceding chapter.⁹⁸ Southwell's views are similar to theirs in every point. Like Pontanus, he ascribes to the art of verse-writing a Hebrew or Christian origin : like Bencius or Possevin, he shows such enthusiasm for poetical beauty, as almost to confound it with divine beauty itself ; indeed it may be abused ; but so may any thing of undoubted worth. The whole plan of Southwell's poetical works is sketched out in the above lines. In the *Saint Peter* poems, he “wove a new web in the loom” of fashionable rhymers, as his various adaptations prove ; in the *Mæonia*, he “imitated Christ's method,” as exemplified in Scripture and liturgy. Nor was he less true to the spirit of the Society when, in the dedication to *Mary Magdalens teares*, he deprecated misapplied passion, and after having pointed out the only suitable object of the “affection” of love, advised moderation as the final aim of moral improvement. He states his reasons for his selection of such a theme as Mary Magdalen's weeping near the grave of the Saviour whom she cherished :

“As passion, he says, and especially this of love, is in these dayes the chiefe Commander of most mens actions, and the Idol to which both tongues and pennes, doe sacrifice their ill bestowed labours : so is there nothing now more needfull to bee intreated, than how to direct those humours unto their due courses, and to draw this floud of affections into the right chanell. Passions I allow, and loves I approve, onely I would wish that men would alter their object, and better their intent.” And having reviewed the various kinds of passions and the legitimate uses to which they can be put, he ends up with the praise of the golden mean : “But as too much of the best is evill, and excesse in vertue, vice ; so passions let loose without limits, are imperfections, nothing being good that wanteth measure. And as the sea is unfit for trafficke, not onely when the windes are too boysterous, but also when they are too still, and a middle gale and motion of the waves serveth best the Saylers purpose; So neither too stormie, nor too calme a minde giveth Vertue the first course,

⁹⁷ *Complete poems*, Grosart's ed., pp. 4-5.

⁹⁸ PONTANUS, *op. cit.*, p. 142, de Hymno; BENCIUS, *op. cit.*, pp. 93-97; POSSEVIN, *op. cit.*, p. 476, p. 512, etc.

but a midle temper betweene them both, in which the well ordered passions are wrought to prosecute, not suffered to pervert any vertuous endeavour.”⁹⁹

There is a curious discrepancy between this professed partiality for a moderate restraint and the exaggerations of Mary Magdalen's grief. But the substance of the work was not really Southwell's ; and the application of this moral theory to literature is found, not in the *Tears*, but in the poems. The *Saint Peter* pieces perform the double task which the Jesuit proposes to a pious writer : they direct the passion of love “into the right channel”, as in *Looke home, Love's servile lot, At home in Heaven, Lewd love is losse* : and they teach the reader how to attain the ideal of a well-balanced everyday life. But in any case when defining his literary tactics, Southwell must have been fresh from the advice and lessons of his Roman professors. He was then all afire with the enthusiasm of his order, and had not yet faced the perplexing difficulties of the English mission-field. As time went on, he naturally became preoccupied with purely English issues. He did not of course go the length of rejecting any essential of his literary doctrine ; but towards the close of his missionary years, he was himself more, and less of a docile pupil.

⁹⁹ *Works* (*St Peters Complaint* etc), 1636 ed., Sigs. I12b-K2a.

CHAPTER VII

THE EARLIER PROSE WORKS : "EUPHUISM" AND THE BIBLE

THE general line of progress marked out in the preceding chapter provides a guiding-thread, which we shall now follow, for the study of Southwell's several works. His ornate prose may conveniently be considered first. Yet we must pause, even at the cost of some loss in continuity and unity, before we come to the most typical work of this kind, *Mary Magdalens Teares*. The translation of Estella's *Meditaciones*, though much plainer in style, has a prior claim upon our attention. Its style is not, like that of the *Teares*, of the description known as Euphuistic. Indeed, it shows few traces of preciosity. And yet, Southwell's translation, when compared with the original, evidences an effort towards harmony, balance and fulness which was the best possible preparation for the writing of "art prose." The chances are, as we know, that it was written quite early in his career, and thus had an influence upon his other works. It is still in many ways classical. But its most important feature is the use which the original writer makes of Scripture. He does not merely consider it as a collection of arguments and proofs, produced towards the edification of the reader : he realizes its literary beauty, and draws freely upon the inexhaustible store of poetical imagery which it provides. Therefore Southwell's translation is an interesting specimen of English Catholic biblical prose, hardly later than the Rheims-Douay version of the Old Testament, and much earlier than the authorized Bible. As such, it offers certain peculiarities which are worth studying, and make it quite different from Protestant biblical prose, both in style and spirit. Besides it may be considered as the model which Southwell followed when he wrote an original work of the same description, the *Epistle of Comfort*, which is dated 1587.

The *Hundred Meditations* cannot be dealt with or judged as if they were an original composition. They must be compared with the text

which Southwell turned into English. This text probably was the Italian version of Fr Gianbattista Peruschi, itself translated from Estella's Spanish. But the latter's *Meditationi*, and the Spanish *Meditaciones*, are practically identical. There was indeed little room for variation, since the theme is a religious one, and there is no great difference in the abstract vocabulary of the two languages. Besides Peruschi was a most faithful and literal translator.

Thus whether Southwell made use of the Spanish or Italian texts does not really much matter. The important point is that he handled his original with a certain amount of freedom, and altered its literary character appreciably ; that in fact, where he found a plain, unpretentious text, beautified it is true with scriptural images, but unpolished in regard to style, he took great pains to improve its cadence and harmony. He thus manifested his subtle sense of the fitness of the English language for the dignified expression of devotional feeling, and succeeded in giving his translation that fulness and stateliness, which is mostly known to us through the sober majesty of the *Book of Common Prayer*. This will best appear through a comparison of the English version with the Italian text. The passage selected for this purpose is taken from that part of the *Meditations* which has a properly mystical character :

(Italian text)¹

- Psal. xxx, 20.** O' Quanto grande, Signore, è la moltitudine della tua dolcezza, laquale nascondesi per coloro, che ti temono. Ingiuria si farebbe alla soavità de' gusti spirituali, che dai all'anima mia in cercare di esprimergli con parole, perocche tutte sono mancheuoli per dire il minore de' tuoi diletti. O' quanto soave è Signore, il tuo spirito in noi altri. Distilleranno i monti dolcezza, & i colli spanderanno latte. Conforta Signore questo tuo santo amore lo spirito, diletta il gusto, recrea l'anima, & la dolcezza sua, & il suo diletto così trascende, & sorpoggia tutte le cose create, che fa dimenticare tutto quanto quello, que puote dar contento in terra. O' uanto grande è la matezza & uanità di coloro, iquali amano le abominazioni, & le turpitudini de i diletti de sensi, per iquali abbandonarono giusti (sic) celesti, & le tue diuine consolations. O' miserabili, & isuenturate creature, che lasciate la manna del Cielo per gli agli, & per le cipolle dell' Egitto. Non so
- Wisd. xii, 1.**
- Joel. iii, 18.**
- Num. xi, 5.**

(English version)²

"Oh, how great, O Lord, is the multitude of Thy sweetness that Thou hast hidden and laid up for those that fear Thee." I should do injury to the spiritual tastes and delights that Thou gavest to my soul if I should go about to express them in words, for no tongue is able to declare the least of them all. "Oh, how sweet is Thy Spirit, O Lord, in us." "The mountains distilled sweetness, and the hill flowed milk." This, Thy holy love, O Lord, doth comfort the spirit and delighteth the taste, recreateth the soul, and the sweetness and pleasantness doth so exceed all things created, that it maketh a man forget all that ever can any ways give contentment upon earth. Oh, how great vanity and madness is that of them that love the abominable filthiness of sensual delights, and for which they have forsaken the heavenly pleasures and Thy divine consolations. O miserable and most unhappy creatures, who forsake the manna of

¹ *Meditationi*, ff. 237b-238b.

² *Hundred Meditations*, Morris's ed., pp. 357-358.

13.

come sia possibile Signore, che questi huomini carnali lasciassero fonte di acque viue, conoscendo la dolcezza del tuo santo amore, per dilettersi nelle puzze de' suoi brutti, & sozzi diletti. Riposano nelle sue vanità del mondo, percioche non hanno prouato quanto è dolce & diletteuole la tua conuersatione. Vna delle cose, che mi fa spauentare de' peccati del Re Dauid, è il trattenersi tanto tempo nella turpitudine del suo peccato, sperimentato quanto dolce, & soaua è la tua diuina consolatione. Che un uillano alleuato con grossi cibi, & uili, gusti di loro, & gli sappiano buoni, & lodi la tal viuanda, non è da marauigliarsi, perocche s'alleuò con quelle viuande, & non mangiò de' cibi, iguali sono intronessi nelle mense de' Principi. Ma se vn principe, figliuol d'un Re grande, alleuato con eccellentissimi cibi, gustasse della (Sic) uiuande rozze, & uillesche de Contadini, & poueri pastori, & dispregiasse perciò la mensa del suo padre, sarebbe cosa di marauiglia grande.

Heaven for the garlic and onions of Egypt. I know not how it is possible, O Lord, for these carnal men to leave Thee, the fountain of living waters, knowing the sweetness of Thy holy love, and to take pleasure in the stinking filthiness of their loathsome delights. They delight in their wicked vanities because they have not experienced how sweet Thou art, and how pleasant Thy conversation. One thing that maketh me to marvel much at the sin of Kind David is, that he continued so long time in the filthiness of his sin, having tried and had experience before his fall how sweet and delectable Thy divine consolation is. It is no marvel if gross and homely meats taste and savour well in the mouth of a country clown that hath been hardly and rudely brought up, because he hath been always used to such meats, and never tasted of the delicate meats that are served at Princes' tables; but if a Prince, or son of some great King, being brought up very daintily, should taste of the rude and vile meats that rusticall shepherds use, and refuse for them the delicate food of his father's table, it were a thing greatly to be wondered at.

This passage is neither more nor less typical than many others, for the whole of the work, which has no definite plan, and the contents of which have been summed up before, is remarkably homogeneous. Now a cursory reading would fail to bring out in Southwell's translation anything more than a general musical quality. But a closer study will soon reveal his patient, careful craftsmanship. The changes he makes are so slight as almost to escape notice; yet by dint of minor touches he alters the whole character of the piece. The original is rhetorical, but neither harmonious nor free from ruggedness. Southwell skilfully smooths it out, now substituting one grammatical form for another ("spiritual tastes and delights" for "soauità de gusti spirituali"; "abominable filthiness" for "abominationi et turpitudini"), now adding one or several words ("that can ever any ways give contentment" for "que puote dar contento"; "to leave Thee, the fountain" for "lasciassero fonte"; "having tried and had experience before his fall" for the single word "sperimentato"), choosing now to conjugate the verbs in the direct form, now with the auxiliary "to do," according as it fits in better with the sentence. Whichever they be, all these subtle alterations tend to the same purpose: each clause or succession of clauses must be rhythmically balanced and fall square. Try as one may, despite the strong hammering of the Italian stress, it is not

possible to cut up Peruschi's text into parts of equal weight and intensity. Turn to Southwell's translation : it divides up into lines almost as easily as a piece of verse :

I know not how it is possible, O Lord,
 For these carnal men to leave Thee,
 The fountain of living waters,
 Knowing the sweetness of Thy holy love...
 But if a prince, or son of some great king,
 Being brought up very daintily,
 Should taste of the rude and vile meats
 That rustical shepherds use,
 And refuse for them the delicate food...

Though the place of the caesura be carefully selected, and the general distribution and balance of the stress be satisfactory, its fall is not perfectly regular in each one of the above lines. But frequently one meets with others which are prosodically perfect, as for instance

Dōth cōmfōrt | thē spīrit | and dēlight | ēth thē tāsē

* * * * *

What literary models was Southwell imitating, when thus writing verse in prose ? Several influences were at work no doubt, but the most important of all must have been that of the Latin version of the Bible, the only one, to all appearances, with which the Jesuit was familiar. This influence was the stronger, in the present case, as the very text which he was translating was to a large extent a mosaic of Scriptural quotations, the Italian of which did not greatly vary from the Vulgate. In fact, he did not check their accuracy, but turned them directly into English, occasionally making mistakes on that account. (He misreads the Italian future as a preterite, or, not being guided by declension, reverses the order of subject and object. Yet he must have had the general sound of the Latin version in his ears when he rendered such a sentence as "Distilleranno i monti dolcezza, et i colli spanderanno latte," by "The mountains distilled sweetness, and the hill flowed milk." The verb was translated in a wrong tense, for the reason stated above, but the distribution of the weight is the same as in the Latin : "Stillabunt montes dulcedinem, et colles fluent lacte..")

Indeed, the unquestionable beauty of many parts of the *Meditations*, despite their lengthiness, is due as much to the constant use of scriptural imagery, as to the childlike trustfulness of Estella's piety. He had made himself so familiar with the text of the Bible, that he had become one with it, and spoke Scripture as easily and naturally as

Bunyan was afterwards to do. The following passage is but an instance among many others. It is a description of heavenly bliss and glory :

"Then they who love Thee shall be drunken with the plenty of Thy house, and as it were a river of delight shall run in at their mouths,³ preparing upon the mount of eternity a banquet of fat tender meats and delicate dishes,⁴ that shall be made ready that they may enter into the joy of their Lord,⁵ and there the people sitting down, who have loved their God in beauty of peace, the King will come amongst them and serve them.⁶ We now see here as in a glass, and in a dark manner, but then we shall see Thee face to face as Thou art. We know Thee now in part, but then I shall know Thee as I am known,⁷ that is perfectly, as I am known of Thee. When Thou shalt appear we shall be like unto Thee, and shall see Thee as Thou art.⁸ In Thy light we shall see light, and we shall see the King in his beauty.¹⁰ Thou art all face and countenance, and Thou shalt not in Heaven have those shoulders which Thou turnedst to Moses in the mountain,¹¹ so that in seeing Thy face I shall see Thee all, and Thou being infinite I shall see infiniteness."¹²

In such passages, it is true, Estella does not appear as a consummate artist. He strings Bible texts together more or less at haphazard, being hardly conscious that their poetical character would be enhanced if they were arranged with skill. Yet it must have become clear to Southwell, when translating the above lines, how artistically effective such inlay work might be made; and he was to try his own hand at it with much greater success. Estella also served him as a model in his use of individual images borrowed from the Bible, which he interprets in a spiritual sense and elaborates in every detail, as in the following lines :

"Thou commandest, O Lord, in Leviticus, that there should be fire continually burning on the altar, which the priest should maintain and feed with wood, and that the sacrifice of peace being laid thereon, the fat and entrails of the beast should be burned. This is that continual fire which should never go out in the altar of my heart, and I ought to maintain it night and day, and at all times, with holy works, with good thoughts, with reading and prayer, and with other commendable

³ Psalm xxxv (Vulgate), 9.

⁴ Isaias xxv, 6.

⁵ Matt. xxv, 21.

⁶ Luc. xii, 37.

⁷ I Cor. xiii, 12.

⁸ I Joan. iii, 2.

⁹ Psalm. xxxv, 10.

¹⁰ Isaias xxxiii, 17.

¹¹ Exodus, xxxiii, 23.

¹² *Meditations*, Morris's ed., pp. 534-535.

exercises, lest haply the Bridegroom should come at an hour that we think not of him, and for want of oil, our lamps being gone out, we should be cast off from his company for ever, and so come to hear that dreadful voice that shall say, "I know you not."¹³

The *Meditations*, as a whole, are little more than a succession of figurative passages of the like sort, some of them biblical, others not, but all of them pervaded with the same spirit of unsophisticated simplicity. Remember that Estella was a friar minor, primarily trained for popular preaching; the similes that suggest themselves to him are such as would be readily understood by the field-labourers of his native Spain. A few of them are borrowed from natural history — not the grotesque lore which disfigures the works of Lyly — but common, well-known facts which every reader can check for himself. Most of them are allusions to the everyday work of the peasantry, and beautifully suggest their pastoral life at the foot of the great hills,¹⁴ the clear fountains under the scorching sun,¹⁵ the rivers to be crossed in spate,¹⁶ the dewy gardens alight with roses,¹⁷ the "red-ochred" sheep,¹⁸ the "herds of cattle," the kids that "do skip... about the sheep-cots".¹⁹ Picturesque scenes are graphically described in a few words: "When a fiery bull runneth loose without hold in a plain field, few dare to come nigh him; but if afterward he be hampered and fast tied, every one draweth to him without fear."²⁰ Or again, we get a glimpse of the homely work of the farm: "The yoke wringeth not the necks of the oxen that draw in it, because the ploughman fasteneth under the yoke a soft bolster made of wool or cotton."²¹ The general colouring and atmosphere of these passages was not congenial to Southwell. His own imagery, as we shall see, is altogether different in its nature and quality, and recalls the pure, transparent light of Italy rather than the violent contrasts of Spain. But Estella needed no stretch of the imagination to interpret biblical scenery aright; cattle-rearing in Palestine was very much akin, after all, to the life of shepherds in his own country; so much so, that it is often hard to find out when he quotes the Bible, and when he adds of his own. His non-scriptural images add to the scriptural character of the whole.

And yet, in Southwell's translation, the style of the *Meditations* is not that which has come to be considered in England as properly

¹³ *Meditations*, Morris's ed., p. 408.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 166.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 517.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 347.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 413.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 463.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 233.

biblical — that of the *Authorized version*, of the *Pilgrim's Progress*, or even of *Paradise Lost*. It is more classical than any of these, and tends, as we have seen, to file down all the asperities of the original, to give it a smooth, easy-flowing appearance, to express its ideas with abstract fluidity, and consequently to do away with high lights, relief or picturesqueness. The Jesuit's literary training has not, it is true, wholly obliterated his natural English preference for concreteness and homeliness. We frequently come across racy expressions: "A pure and precious liquor, Southwell writes, shall not be poured into unclean and sluttish vessels"²²; or "A little spark is wont to be quenched by casting wet and sagging wood upon it"²³; or "I despise but a dunghill and rotten muck for an excellent and most precious pearl"²⁴; or again "O heavenly music and songs well composed, how round must they needs go."²⁵ Such words as "silly" applied to the soul, "lumpish" applied to the body, recur very frequently.²⁶ Yet when all is said, Southwell seldom uses a genuine English idiom when he can replace it by one from the Latin. Thus his rendering of Estella, far from being enriched with all the associations suggested by homely, concrete expressions, becomes beautifully clear indeed, but at the same time coldly logical and thin. This may be done with a purpose, in order to bring the style into line with neo-classical elegance, or unwittingly, from the fact that each Italian word naturally suggests a Latin equivalent. The above instances themselves, if extended to a few lines, would show spirited English words hard pressed on every hand by their Latin fellows. Thus we meet with such epithets applied to God as "benign,"²⁷ and "omnipotent" instead of "almighty"²⁸; man is fed from the "reversions" that come from his table.²⁹ Read the following lines, and note how the writer shuns the use of pithy, quaint, picturesque old English words, and feels quite at home with Latin substitutes:

"And yet this is He, O my soul, Who suffereth for thee; and if thou consider what it is He suffereth, it is the most cruel Passion and most terrible pain that any man suffered in this world since God created it; for the more noble that the powers are, the more they penetrate the objects, so that where a power is very tender, it is very sensible. Any wound or stroke is more felt upon the head, for that is the principal and most sensible member, than if it were received upon any other part

²² *Meditations*, Morris's ed., p. 368.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 373.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 379.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 524.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, *passim*.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 502.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 444.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 524.

of the body; and the country shepherd feeleth not cold nor a stroke so much as a delicate, tender gentleman."³⁰

And thus for many lines after. But Southwell's classicism reaches even deeper. The very mode of thinking is affected, and this change is reflected in the style. We find in it the very reverse of Elizabethan exuberance, a systematic restraint and economy of means, which is the literary counterpart of the moral ideal of the Society of Jesus. Southwell was not hampered by an undue respect for the original text, and would certainly have made his translation chatty or bombastic if his tastes had lain either way. But he wished it to be plain and spare. Short of extensive quotations, which alone would prove this fully, such an instance of conciseness as the following will illustrate the point: "Thou bestowedst innumerable benefits upon man before Thy Incarnation, that being drawn and allured with so many favours, and seeing himself so much bounden for so many good turns, he might settle his love upon so bountiful a benefactor."³¹ If anything, the sentence is rather too close-knit to be pleasant to the ear.

On the whole, then, the *Meditations* produce an effect of dignified plainness and nakedness. In fact, simplicity is the dominant feature, both of the original and of the translation; it is the main element of their beauty, because it lends itself to the expression of genuine, pathetically tender emotion: "O Jesus-Christ, Southwell writes, our most Blessed Saviour and Redeemer, to behold Thee buffeted on the face, and Thy most delicate and tender Body black and blue and gashed with so many thousand lashes, Thy most holy Head pierced with thorns, and thy hands and feet bored with sharp nails, were enough to burst one's heart."³² In such passages, the intensity and sincerity of the feeling seem to leave no room for the delicate touches of conscious art. And yet here we may pause and wonder. However little Estella may have been seeking after literary effect, the means of expression which he used were not purely his own. He did not stand isolated in space or time. Wittingly or not, he was continuing the tradition of patristic eloquence and scholastic thinking; and both of these, as we shall see, are at the root of Southwell's preciousness.

The influence of either is felt in the *Meditations*. For one thing, despite its directness, the style is rhetorical, constant use being made of exclamatory sentences or apostrophe. Then it provides a good many instances of the tricks of classical oratory, such as balanced clauses, parallel or contrasted, of the following kind: "Thou hadst at Thy words gainsayers, at Thy works detractors, jesters at Thy torments,

³⁰ *Meditations*, Morris's ed., p. 128.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 117.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 134.

and scoffers at Thy death... What am I able to render Thee, my God and Lord, and what am I able to give Thee, most merciful Father, for all that Thou hast done me, and for all that Thou hast given me?"³³ Occasionally the parallelism lies in the words themselves: "When we want them (the creatures) we do greatly covet them, and when we have them we do utterly abhor them";³⁴ or again: "Oh, how shall we be satisfied with satiety and fulness, and how wilt thou be at rest, my soul, with Rest itself?"³⁵ And yet, in this latter instance, the contrast lies less in the words than in the ideas. Indeed, if there is anything in Estella's work which may be called preciousness, it is to be sought rather in the thought itself than in its expression. It is a literary consequence of the theological method of enquiry, with its questions and distinctions. Hence the particular nature of the writer's conceits. Some of these are partly verbal, as in the following words: "What wanteth there in this Thy cross of being a spiritual crossbow, seeing that it woundeth our hearts?"³⁶ But more frequently, the likeness or opposition sought is in the ideas, as in the following instance: "We do naturally put the hand or arm in danger to defend the head, which is the chiefest member, but it was an excess of great love that Thou, my God and Lord, being our Head, shouldst put Thyself in danger of death and die upon the Cross to defend us Thy members."³⁷

In fact, we have now come to what is perhaps, together with its use of Scripture, the most striking feature of Estella's work, its intellectual character. This should not be construed as meaning that Estella handles the theme of the love of God in a really rational mood, and investigates the philosophical problems involved; for his aim is purely devotional. But he cannot get rid of the habit of searching and subtle reasoning, which he owes to his theological training. He divides up his book into propositions, each of which has to be, if not demonstrated, at any rate illustrated in turn from every possible point of view. The very images which appear in regular array, are not light, suggestive touches, but fully worked out similes. In other words, though Estella's mood be lyrical owing to the genuineness of his devotional feeling, his diction is largely unpoetical; or at any rate it belongs to the type of poetry in which the apt expression of thought is considered as the primary quality.

And yet, this reasoning tendency is only the background of Southwell's art. He should on no account be mistaken for a dry theological versifier. Indeed, his translation of the *Meditations* is the best possible

³³ *Meditations*, Morris's ed., p. 125.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 96.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

proof that he was gifted with the nicest artistic taste. The passage quoted above, parallel with Peruschi's Italian, was fairly conclusive in that respect. But the way in which he dealt with the *Ninety-eighth meditation* is even more striking; for there he showed how much he shared that sense of decency, of sober propriety, which is one of the essential features of the English devotional temper. The comparison of the Italian and English texts is in the present case extremely suggestive and interesting. The title of the meditation is in the Italian: "Come Dio ha da esser' amato per esser satieta nostra,"³⁸ in Southwell's translation: "How God ought to be beloved, because he is our fulness and satiety."³⁹ It is clear that such a theme might be handled by a Southerner in a way that would seem utterly distasteful to an Englishman, even if the religious beliefs and devotional practice of both were the same. A Spaniard would not be afraid of similes in which bodily eating would be considered as a figure for spiritual manducation, even if such similes were pushed very far. In fact, Estella refers, not only to the joy of those who partake of the heavenly meat, but also to the disgust of those who have tasted the vile food of worldly pleasures, quoting a text of Job, which stands thus in Peruschi's Italian: "Il suo pane, poiche sarà giunto allo stomaco si volterà in fiele di aspidi, iui nelle interiora, vomiterà le ricchezze, che mangiò, et Dio gli ne cauerà dal suo uentre."⁴⁰

Now the way in which Southwell alters the whole passage is quite typical. To begin with, the gaudy colouring of the Italian version is toned down. One almost sees the expressive mimicry of the Southern worshipper making room for the sedate dignity of the Englishman. Note the two changes in the translation of the following sentence:

L'anima mia seperata da te, uà pe'l mondo affamata, & desiderando satiare i suoi desideri de i vili dilette della carne, cibo vero de' porci, le è negato questa vile viuanda, poiche tutta è fame, & miseria, secondo il desiderio & appetito generosissimo & nobile, che in lei ponesti.⁴¹

My soul, being severed from Thee wandereth hungry through the world, seeking to satisfy her desire with the filthy delights of the flesh, the very meat of sin. Even this vile food is denied her, for all is but hunger and misery, according to the noble desire and appetite that Thou hast placed in her.⁴²

The substitution of "sin" for "porci," the leaving aside of the superlative "generosissimo" are enough to change the general effect; Southwell avoids unpleasant concreteness by omitting a word here and there ("il suo stomaco è la sua capacità" is translated by "her capacity is great") or softening the brutal matter-of-factness of the original

³⁸ *Meditationi*, Venetia 1585, ff, 347b sqq.

³⁹ *Meditations*, Morris's ed., pp. 522-526. Text in Job, xx, 14-5.

⁴⁰ *Meditationi*, f. 348a.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, f. 347b.

⁴² *Meditations*, pp. 522-523.

("mangia alla tua mensa" is rendered by "sitteth at Thy table.") As for the most objectionable passage, which centres around the above-quoted text, it is purely and simply absent from the English *Meditations*. This kind of literary Puritanism is of course in agreement with the refined tastefulness of the Jesuit poet; but it is also noteworthy as exemplifying a permanent English trait. It is, at the end of the sixteenth century, a prefiguration of Victorianism. As in many other cases, it is one of two contrasted features of the English temperament, which are mutually reactive to each other; its converse, in the present instance, being the unbounded coarseness of extreme Protestant pamphleters of the same period. "Foul-mouthed Bale," who belonged, it is true, to the preceding generation, had fully deserved the epithet commonly joined to his name. Here we see how native delicacy and a classical sense of moderation had rendered Southwell impervious to the coarse materialism of parts of the Old Testament. The same restraining influence had not been felt by his religious opponents — the Marprelate writers for instance — for whom any verbal excesses were justified so long as they might plead imitation of the sacred text of the Scriptures.

Southwell's nicety in the expression of devotional thought is but another aspect of his sense of literary beauty. That his gifts in this respect were already masterly at an early period, the *Meditations* prove beyond a doubt. Though the following lines be a trifle over-ingenious — this being Estella's fault — there is scarcely a passage in the whole of the Anglican liturgy which can vie with them for fulness, dignity or sweet harmony: "O my Redeemer, and the sweetness of my life, I present here my heart before Thee. It desireth to come unto Thee, but cannot of itself; perform Thou that, O most loving Father, that of itself it is not able, receive me within the compass of Thy love. I ask, call, and seek, and seeing Thou givest me grace to ask, grant me to receive; Thou givest me grace to seek, cause me to find; Thou teachest me to call, Lord open to him that calleth. Come unto Thy God, O my soul, embrace Thy Spouse, Jesus Christ; be importunate with Him till He give thee this holy love, that by loving Him thou mayest know Him, and by knowing Him mayest love Him for evermore."⁴³ One might possibly enlarge on slight differences with the prose or the *Book of Common Prayer*, observe less of a majestic and sonorous sweep about the sentences, a greater clearness and brevity; but essentially, the rhythm, the music, the spirit are the same — those of the ancient Latin liturgy. It has been for generations considered as a hackneyed truth that certain qualities, such as a sense of sober, harmonious beauty, a decent, moderate comeliness in worship, properly belonged to the church of England and its writers, indeed constituted a specially Anglican temperament. Such

⁴³ *Meditations*, Morris's ed., p. 453.

a contention is expressed in *John Inglesant*. That it is disproved by facts, the *Meditations*, first among Southwell's works, are sufficient evidence to show.

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A considerable portion of Southwell's work is made up of translations, adaptations and imitations. This may to some extent mean that he lacked self-confidence; but the chief reason is that the directions of his superiors did not require the creation of an original literature, but merely the transformation for pious purposes of what already existed. In his early years especially, he adhered to this plan most conscientiously. *Mary Magdalens teares* is a case in point; for like the *Meditations*, this work had an Italian original, and was begun at Rome. In his edition of Southwell's *Complete poems*, Grosart describes the contents of MS. A.V.4 in the library of Stonyhurst College. He states that he has found in it "a 'Discourse on Mary Maudelyn', and 'Alas, why doe I lament', in English prose, both extrinsically valuable from their relation to the published 'Mary Magdalen's Funerall Teares', of which indeed I believe them to have been the first form."⁴⁴ Though Grosart's surmise was entirely unjustified in regard to the latter piece, it is correct in regard to the former, from which, as we shall show, *Mary Magdalens Teares* were in fact expanded. But this "first draft" is not an original piece of work. A stroke of luck, which has brought new evidence to light, enables us now to prove this.

In the very same library in which it is preserved, there is a small manuscript volume bound in vellum, which contains a few short devotional treatises in the Italian tongue. The sixth — which Southwell translated and later expanded into the *Teares* — is described as follows in the table of contents: "Le infrascripte cose sono cauate dal libro de sancto bonauentura et chiamase stimulus amoris."⁴⁵ We shall not here discuss the fascinating little problem of the real authorship of this piece. It is not found among the published writings of St Bonaventura,⁴⁶ but it is so closely akin to them in style, that it must either be his work, or at any rate belong to his school. The spelling is that of the fourteenth century. Some of the verbal forms used belong to the Roman dialect, and others are Spanish; and the copyist may have been a resident at the English College, Rome, previously educated at one of the Spanish seminaries. Southwell's attention had

⁴⁴ *Complete poems*, Grosart's ed., p. LXXII.

⁴⁵ Stonyhurst MS. B. VI. 11, title-page.

⁴⁶ Careful research has failed to find any such piece either in the older editions of St Bonaventura's works, such as *Sancti Bonaventurae... opusculorum tomus primus*, Lugduni M.DC.XLVII, or in the latest complete edition, *Doctoris Seraphici S. Bonaventurae... Opera omnia*, ad Claras Aquas (Quaracchi) prope Florentiam.

been drawn to the theme of St Mary Magdalen by Valvasone's *Lagrima della Maddalena*. He was pleased enough with the Italian meditation to turn it into English first, then to polish it and eventually to take up his adaptation again and turn it into a finished piece of work : for three successive versions of the *Teares* are extant, the first two being contained in the Stonyhurst manuscript above-mentioned.

The earliest draft is a mere translation of the Italian text, faithful enough in regard to the sense, but free as to its style, which is far more elaborate than that of the original.⁴⁷ Southwell apparently meant to read it as a sermon on some feast-day, for it begins with the words : "In this present solemnity hauynge (to speake) (vtter) to speake in (the fearynge) this audience of your charities we ar put in mynde how that Mary Maudelyn... etc."⁴⁸ However he left the translation unfinished⁴⁹ and was dissatisfied with it, for he cast the beginning into another shape, which illustrates his effort towards literary elegance. This second version is a mere fragment, and runs to seventeen lines only.⁵⁰ Last of all, in the enforced leisure of his secluded life in England, he took up the whole of the Italian text anew, and while retaining the framework and a good deal of the phrasing of the original, expanded it considerably, adding to it very much of his own, and improving its literary quality beyond recognition.

This was indeed no difficult task, for the workmanship of the Italian meditation is at best very indifferent. It is a prosy string of reflections on Mary Magdalen's sorrow at Christ's tomb, couched in the shape of a dialogue between the writer and various Scripture characters. The repetitions are so frequent that the thirty-six short pages of the text appear lengthy and tedious. The pegs, so to say, on which the fabric of the meditation is hooked, are the successive events recorded in the Gospel of St John : Mary's coming to the tomb, and staying there bravely, while the two disciples had turned back; her tears on finding the grave empty; the apparition of the two angels; their words to her, "Why weepest thou?"; the coming of Jesus, and his repetition of the same words; Mary's mistake of him for the gardener, her request to him to say where he has hidden the corpse; Jesus' answer, "Touch me not." The piece ends here with some spiritual advice to the reader. But though the Scripture story be closely followed, there is a curious discrepancy between its pathetic simplicity and the means used by the writer to create dramatic interest, and account for

⁴⁷ Stonyhurst MS. A.V.4, ff. 56a-62a, also numbered 249a-254a., with the exception of 61 a-b.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, f. 56a-249a. The words erased and replaced by others in the original are here printed between brackets.

⁴⁹ It stops at the bottom of p. 21 of the Italian text.

⁵⁰ Stonyhurst MS. A.V.4, fol. 61b.

Mary's obstinate tearfulness. The dialogue in which both he himself, Mary, the Angels and Jesus take part, is not the expression of spontaneous, genuine human feeling, but a succession of arguments between the various characters, in which the conduct of each and the incidents which determine it are discussed in a logical frame of mind; not drily though, but with the colloquial garrulousness of Southerners, who are too familiar with holy things to view them with awe. As in the case of the *Hundred meditations*, Southwell's English temperament was bound to bring about a complete change in the atmosphere, and the substitution for prosy, babbling loquacity of a rhythmical, dignified harmony. A comparison of two corresponding passages, one from the Italian, one from the first English draft, will be in point here. In the former, Mary's flow of words is so plentiful and hurried as to produce some obscurity, which is skilfully avoided in the latter. The moment is that of the apparition of the angels, when the "weeper" refuses to derive comfort from their presence :

"O grande dolore quale he [e] questa visitatione, ad me e molesto ogni consolatione, per che ogni consolatore non me consola, ma anti [anzi] me he [e] molesta ogni creatura; et non uoglio adiuto de creatura; non voglio vedere angeli; non uoglio io stare cum li angeli, per che piu presto me acrescono dolore & non me lo possono tollere. Se me voglio dire molte cose et io non voglio rispondere, temo ne impediscono lo mio amore & non me lo accrescano. E nota che lo parlare de li angeli dubita non impediscono lo amore de lo dolce dilecto Yesu. Considera lo parlare de li altri. Finalmente io non cerco angeli, ma quello che a creato li angeli et me. Ano [hanno] me tolto lo mio signore & esso solo cerco, solo esso me po consolare. Ma io non so doue lo habiano posto. Guardo intorno se io lo uedesse et non lo vedo. Yo uorria trouare lo loco doue & [e] posto e non lo trouo. Oyme doue andaro yo, che faro io, doue fusse andato lo mio dilecto maiestro..."⁵¹

"Alas for woe, what a could comfort is this, what a comfortless visitation. Comforters are all comforters vnto mee, they agreeue me (much) and relieue me not. I seeke my creatoure, and therefore loathsome is the syght of euery creature. Angels will I not behold, with angels will I not remayne; for encrease my sorow they may, but release it quyte they can not. If they begynne to parley at la [rge] with me and I (yeld) afford them an answer to euery demande, I feare me that my loue will be rather spent then spedd. Finally Angels are not my arrant but the maker of me and Angels. I seeke not for the Angels but for the Angels and my Lord. (They haue taken away) my lorde haue they taken away; him onely will I seeke who onely is able to solace my sorrow. I cast my eyes on euery syde to (...?) if happely I could se him, but see him I cannot. I would fynd the place where they haue putt him but fynde it I cannot. (Alas wretche that I am) Alas wretch that I am, what shall [I] doe, whether shall I go, whether is my loue gone..."⁵²

The transformation of the passage in Southwell's hands is particularly suggestive. The general features of his style are the same as in the

⁵¹ Stonyhurst MS. B.VI.11, pp. 12-13 of the meditation on St Mary Magdalen. The text is obscure, and even the new punctuation added here does not make sense everywhere. The sentence beginning "E nota..." is spoken by the writer and addressed to the reader.

⁵² Stonyhurst MS. A.V.4, f. 58b-59a, or 251b-252a. The letters or words missing in the MS. are here supplied in square brackets.

Hundred meditations — clearness, analytical conciseness, fulness, harmony and balance. He evidences the same good taste, the same sense of accurate proportion, in breaking up lengthy sentences, or skipping repetitions. But now he is attempting something more. His diction is no longer plain and direct, but forced to fit into a ready-prepared mould. One feels an effort towards a striking originality of form, which almost produces quaintness. This impression is especially due here to a mannerism which is absent from other parts of the draft, and from the final version of the *Teares*; and in which Southwell seems to have indulged for the present as an experiment. It consists in placing corresponding grammatical terms in accented positions at the beginning of corresponding clauses, so as to create a kind of hammering symmetry.

This deliberate aiming at preciousness, meant as an allurement to literary connoisseurs, will appear even more clearly if we compare the beginning of the Italian original with Southwell's first and second drafts. The Italian text, which is much plainer and shorter than the English versions, runs as follows :

"*Maria staua fore de lo monumento et piangeua... Audiamo Maria stare fora et lamentare. Vediamo se potemo per che sta et per che piange, e facciamo che lo suo stare e lo piangere faccia ad noi [proficito.] Lo amore la faceva stare, lo dolore la facia piangere. Staua e guardaua de la e de qua intorno se per niuno modo vedere potesse quello che amaua. Piangeua per che stimaua fosso tolto quello che amaua, e cercando lo dolore se renouaua.*"⁵³

The first draft translates this with sufficient accuracy and fulness :

"We ar put in mynde how that Mary Maudelyn (louynge our lord aboue all creatures, when his oune disciples fled) (as in loue of Christ so) as she surpassed many in loue so passed she (most) Christs oune disciples in loyalty, folowed him goynge vnto deathe et kindle[d] with the sparkles of intier loue, burnynge with most earnest desyre and incessantly weepynge neuer departed from his tombe. For Marye as the Euangelist reporteth did stand (at the tombe without) without at the tombe weepynge. We haue herd of Marie at the tombe without standyng, lett us now also here of her wepynge. Lett vs see if we be able wherefore she (stoode vpp) did [stande] vpp and let vs see why so many teares (trickled) did trickle doune. Lett vs (ga) take some profit by her standynge, some profit lett us take by her weepynge. Loue was the cause of her standynge and sorow enforced her to weepynge. She did stand and looke about her whether she could happely see him that was deere vnto her. She did weepe because she doubted that shee had bene robbed of (that) Christ whome shee so sorowfully seeked. Her grieve was renewed..."⁵⁴

⁵³ Stonyhurst MS. B.VI.11, pp. 1-2 of the Italian meditation.

⁵⁴ Stonyhurst A.V.4, f. 56a or 249a.

The second draft takes advantage of the opportunity for rhetorical expansion :

"...as she surpassed many in loue so she passed (most) Christes oune disciples in loyalty, not fleetyng when they fled, not leauynge in death whome she had loued in lyfe, but incessantly weepyng at the tombe of his body, whose body was the tombe of her soule. For Mary as the Euangelist reporteth did stand without at the tombe weepyng. Without she standeth and without she weepeth, but (within) in the tomb she lyeth and within she sleepeth. In her body she standeth vpp but in(h) Christes body she lyethe doune; in her oune eyes she weepeth, in Christes eyes she sleepeth. But let vs prayse [appraise ?] the cause of her standynge, lett us peruse the occasion of her weeping. She stood for loue and she wept for sorow. (Loue wisheth sorow washeth) Sshe stodd to looke about her whether she could haphely see him that was so deere vnto her. (Loue watcheth) (Loue standeth in watche & sorow wayled) (washeth) Loue (setteth) keepeth the eyes in watche, sorrow (washeth) keepeth the same in water. (Loue) The one wisheth and the other washeth. Her (eagre desyre) busy (cure) serche in seekynge whome she desyareth kindleth affection (but) Her doubtfull feare of not fyndynge whome she seeketh causeth her lamentation..."⁵⁵

A careful study of the corrections in the above fragments illustrates the twofold motives of Southwell in gradually altering the original. His delicate ear suggested such emendations as "without at the tombe weepyng" for "at the tombe without weepyng"; and his sense of the harmonious distribution of weight in a sentence led to the substitution of "did stande vppe" and "did trickle doune" for "stoode vpp" and "trickled doune." But even in the earlier draft another influence is felt, that of the fashionable style of writing. In the very first sentence we meet with parallel clauses connected by "so... as..."; and later we come across instances of direct or reversed parallelism. The second draft goes one step farther and improves upon the first. It adds verbal oppositions ("without" and "within," "standeth vpp" and "lyethe doune"); and enables us to watch Southwell's somewhat amusing efforts to bring in at last a full-blown, long thought-out conceit in the punning vein, on "wisheth," "washeth," "watche" and "water." This is clearly the work of an apprentice in quest of a suitable means of expression, who tries his hand at preciousness, and in his eagerness to do well occasionally overreaches himself.

The same mood is reflected in the second prose fragment referred to by Grosart.⁵⁶ It was not, however, to be a lasting feature in Southwell's writings. When he came to write the final version of *Mary*

⁵⁵ Stonyhurst MS. A.V.4, f. 61b.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, f. 37a.

Magdalens teares, he had already freed himself from the most objectionable kind of mannerism. Yet, before we study the style of this work, we must consider its subject. Southwell's choice of the doleful lamentations of Mary Magdalen for semi-poetical treatment was not a matter of mere chance, nor was it merely the consequence of his personal preferences. He was but following in the wake of numerous contemporary writers, and complying with contemporary fashions; for the theme of Mary Magdalen's remorse, and of remorseful tears in general, was then highly popular in the devotional literature of Italy, France and Spain.

The story of Mary Magdalen had held a prominent place in Christian letters from the beginning, and had frequently been told in prose and verse, or acted on the stage,⁵⁷ throughout the Middle-Ages and early Renaissance. Pietro Aretino himself had chosen it for one of the pious writings with which he interspersed his scandalous productions, and towards the middle of the sixteenth century, a French correspondent of his, Jean de Vauzelles, a lawyer at Lyons, had planned a collection of all the pieces hitherto indited to the glory of Mary Magdalen, which was to bear the following title : *Il Magdalon della Maddalena*.⁵⁸ But as we have shown, there was especial reason why the Counter-reformation, with its mood of self-reproachfulness, should grant paramount honour to her, who was dwelling in perpetual sorrow for the sins of her past life. The remorse felt for the moral perversion of the Renaissance period accounts for the tearfulness in fashion after the Council of Trent, which inspired Erasmo Valvasone's poems, *Le lagrime della Maddalena* (before 1580),⁵⁹ no less than Tansillo's *Lagrime di San Pietro*; and was fast gaining ground, both in Italy and in other countries, at the time of Southwell's stay at Rome. This fashion accounts for the appearance, shortly after his departure for England, of a poem by Giuseppe Policreti, *La conversione di Maddalena* (Vicenza 1588), and of another one by Giovanni Ralli, *Le lagrime di Santa Maddalena* (soon after 1588);⁶⁰ of Torquato Tasso's *Stanze... per le lagrime di Maria Vergine santissima, et di Giesu Christo Nostro Signore* (Venice 1593); of a *Nvova raccolta di Lagrime* (Bergamo 1593), including the poems of Tasso and Valvasone, and two others of the same kind; of an anonymous piece of verse in the French tongue, *La Magdelene repentie* (Paris 1597) and of a metrical composition in

⁵⁷ See for instance in the *Digby plays*, ed. by F. J. FURNIVALL, *Early English Text Society*, vol. LXX, 1896, a play on *Mary Magdalene*, written in the Midlands in the late XVth century.

⁵⁸ Pierre RONZY, *Un humaniste italianisant, Papire Masson (1544-1611)*, Paris, 1924, p. 20, n. 2.

⁵⁹ Cf. Fr Herbert THURSTON in the *Month*, vol. CVI, p. 318, article entitled *Father Southwell and his Peter's Plaint*.

⁶⁰ Vincenzo CREMONA, *Erasmo da Valvasone (1523-1593)*, Monteleone 1919, pp. 59-60.

Spanish, the *Breve Suma de la admirable conversion y vida de la gloriosa Magdalena*, (Lisbon 1598).⁶¹ The direct source of Southwell's *Mary Magdalens teares* is indeed earlier than this flowering of "maudlin" lyrics. Yet there is good reason to think that his mind was arrested by this earlier text precisely because Valvasone had handled a kindred theme in his *Lagrima della Maddalena*. That this poem was known to Southwell previous to his departure from Rome cannot be proved; but by then, he was certainly acquainted with Tansillo's *Lagrima di San Pietro*. Now both works were to be printed jointly in 1587, 1592 and 1599, and to all likelihood they were associated in men's minds, if not in the press, even before the earliest one of these dates. It is, in any case, a striking coincidence that the subjects of two of Southwell's compositions, both begun in Italy, should be precisely the same; especially since they were afterwards to be regularly published together.

Thus the Jesuit was, to all appearances, the first to introduce into England the post-Trentine literature of "Tears." But this should lead to no mistake as to the contents of his own pieces of this description. Far from indulging in unrestricted sentimentality, in gushing emotion of the late eighteenth century type, he remains true to the spirit of the Italian meditation, which is predominantly intellectual. Mary, indeed, insists on weeping for weeping's sake; yet if the fountain of tears is opened up anew whenever it seems to run dry, this is done not through an appeal to the weeper's heart, but to her mind, suitable reasons being provided as an inducement to further dolefulness. This character is persistent throughout the transformations of the piece. From the beginning, the influence of theological thinking is uppermost in the questions and answers, arguments and distinctions, which make up the imaginary dialogue. It leads away from real life, to an abstract consideration of ideas in themselves; and from this again there is an easy transition to the over-ingenuity which was to be Southwell's main literary fault in his early years. Thus in the Italian meditation, the author relates how Mary Magdalen would have preferred to join her Lord in death, and applies to her the words: "Love is stronger than death." He then adds the following reflections: *Diteme che po fare la morte, se non che fa la creatura insensibile? Questo haueua facto lo amore in Maria, per che non erano li sentimenti de l'anima cum lei, non sentiua, non uedeua, ne audiuu, et non staua doue staua, per che tucta staua doue staua lo suo maiestro; per che l'anima non staua [sic] doue sta, ma doue ama; et non sapendo doue fosse lo dilecto maestro, meno sapeua doue fosse essa medesima; cerchua aduncha e non lo trouaua...*⁶²

⁶¹ For all these works, see bibliography below.

⁶² Stonyhurst MS. B.VI.11, pp. 4-5 of the Italian meditation.

The instance is a striking one. In these few lines we find the "intellectual preciosity" in which Southwell was to excel, and that partiality for proverbial sayings which was to become a current feature of English prose in the late sixteenth century. Taken in conjunction with other quotations, it will suffice to show the unquestionable kinship of inspiration between the Italian meditation and the final version of *Mary Magdalens teares*. In his prose poem, Southwell takes pleasure in establishing subtle, sometimes purely formal, relations, between successive ideas, and making them fit in together, like the pieces of a skilfully contrived jigsaw puzzle. Thus, in the course of his dialogue with Mary Magdalen, he attempts to comfort her by hinting that Jesus' corpse may have been taken from the grave not by his foes, but by his friends. Even were this so, Mary answers, "yet whosoever hath taken him, hath wronged mee, in not acquainting mee with it : for to take away mine without my consent, can neither be offered without injury, nor suffered without sorrow : "and then she goes on to prove that Jesus is actually hers. "But what, the writer rejoins, if hee hath taken away himselfe, wilt thou also lay injustice to his charge ?... It may be thou wilt say, that a gift once given, cannot bee revoked, and therefore though it were before in his choice, not to give himselfe unto thee : yet the deed of gift being once made, he cannot bee taken from thee, neither can the donor dispose of his gift without the possessor's privitie." Then, suddenly, changing his line of approach :

"But to this I will answer thee with thine owne ground. For if he be thine by being given thee once, thou art his by as many gifts, as dayes, and therefore hee being absolute owner of thee, is likewise full owner of whatsoever is thine : and consequently because he is thine, he is also his owne, and so nothing liable unto thee, for taking himselfe from thee."⁶³

Here the writer has entirely lost sight of the realities of human life, and merely delights in intellectual juggling. This artificiality is indeed preciosity of a kind, though less purely verbal than the word generally seems to imply. Shall we advance one step further, and endorse the expression used by a modern critic of note, Fr Herbert Thurston, who entitled an article of his on *Mary Magdalens teares*, "Father Southwell the Euphuist ?"⁶⁴ It is indeed true that *Euphuies* had appeared five or six years only before Southwell wrote the early drafts of his prose poem, which are more precious in style than the final version; that Lyly's mannerism was then in the height of fashion in England, and that echoes of what was going on in the literary circles at home sounded as far as the precincts of the English college at Rome, owing to constant

⁶³ *Saint Peters complaint, Mary Magdalens teares etc.*, 1636 ed., sigs N3b-N5a.

⁶⁴ In a series entitled *Catholic writers and Elizabethan readers*, N° II, *Month. February*, 1895, pp. 231-245 (Vol. LXXXIII.)

arrivals of young Catholics fresh from the universities or from the court. And the question therefore necessarily arises : did Southwell owe his "Euphuistic" inspiration to his English environment in Italy, or did he, through his classical and patristic readings, gain access independently to the sources of "Euphuistic" preciousity ? Or again, if his rhetorical mannerism mainly hailed from ancient Rome and medieval Italy, was it however modified in the latter part of his stay at Rome, by his English surroundings ?

That the over-subtle, finicking, even punning tendency was already present in his Latin poems, we have shown in a previous chapter. That in regard to prose, he directly imitated the oratory of the Fathers, will appear as generally true when we come to consider the *Epistle of Comfort*. It will also be shown how the very Italian meditation which he translated and then adapted was true to the tradition of St Bonaventura's patristic predecessors. Now one of the most striking peculiarities of the Italian source of the *Teares*, a sort of rough-hewn preciousity, lasts on into the final version of Southwell's adaptation. We come across numerous instances of every form of parallelism, as in the following cases :

"...perche tu cercaui vno e trouastine doi, cercaui lo *huomo* e trouasti li *angeli*, cercaui lo morto e trouasti li *uiui*..."⁶⁵

"...et tu yesu quando la uedesti contristata per consolarla te contristasti cum essa et vedendo la lacrimare lacrimasti..."⁶⁶

while internal rhymes add to the effect in several places :

"Manchaua che vngesse e non mancaua che piangesse..."⁶⁷

"E tanto era lo dolore quanto era lo amore..."⁶⁸

or again parallelism is strengthened with alliteration :

"Questo corpo defunto non macula li mundi, ma munda li *im-mundi*..."⁶⁹

We also meet with what may be called the intellectual side of preciousity. Not only words, but thoughts are here and there ingeniously constricted :

"Guai ad me, ho uoluta seruare la lege et non ho guardato quello a chui obediscono tucte le lege..."⁷⁰

Thus what is generally considered as the framework of Lyly's preciousity is already present in the meditation ascribed to St Bonaventura. It is true that to a certain limited extent, Southwell's patristic rhetoric

⁶⁵ Stonyhurst MS. B.VI.11, p. 6 of the Italian meditation.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

is coloured by the fashions of the day. A careful reader will gather, in the final version of *Mary Magdalens teares*, some passages in which are found two of the most clearly-marked features of Lyly's style : the synthetic way in which he connects related ideas, expressed in parallel or contrasted clauses, by means of such expressions as "...more... than...", "rather.... than...", "less... than...", "as... so..." "though... yet... ;" and the endless repetition of the same or kindred ideas in a succession of similar word-groups. The most striking instances are as follows : "For her thirst of thy presence was so exceeding, and the sea of thy joye so well able to afford her a full draught, that though every parcell in her should take in a whole tide of thy delights, shee would thinke them too few to quiet her desires."⁷¹ And again : "The time hath beene that fewer teares would have wrought greater effect, shorter seeking have sooner found, and less paine have procured more pittie."⁷² Lyly's partiality for symmetry is matched in sentences of this type : "And as all this while she hath sought without finding, wept without comfort, and called without answers ; so now thou diddest satisfie her seeking with thy comming, her teares with thy triumph, and all her cryes with this one word, *Mary*."⁷³ Or more typically still : "But alas, let her heavinesse excuse her, and the unwontednesse of the miracle plead her pardon, sith dread and amazement have dulled her senses, distempered her thoughts, discouraged her hopes, awaked her passions, and left her no other liberty but onely to weepe."⁷⁴ Again, the parallel build of the sentences, which is everywhere found, is occasionally matched by assonance in the words, as in the case of the well-known conceit : "It were too happie an exchange to have God for goods, and too rich a povertie to enjoy the onely treasure of the world."⁷⁵

But such instances are exceptional. If we take the work as a whole, far from favouring the trick of verbal repetition in any shape whatsoever, Southwell shuns it, and the corresponding terms in his sentences, instead of being paired through alliteration or rhyme, are almost in every case different in sound, though not in weight. He is aware of the fact that the beauty of ornate prose lies in an easy, graceful, unimpeded flow, and that when parallelism becomes a regular symmetry, the sentence is constantly bridled up by the very words on which it is supported. In his avoidance of Lyly's fault in this respect, Southwell proves the nicety of his ear. Besides, the general colouring of the vocabulary and style is utterly different from what it is in Lyly's work. The picturesqueness

⁷¹ *St Peters complaint* etc., 1636 ed., sig. L6b-L7a.

⁷² *Ibid.*, sig. L3a.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, sig. P9a.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, sig. Lb.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, sig. N12b. The pun on "God" and "Goods" is already found in *Tottel's Miscellany*, ed., Arber, 1870, p. 129 : "If God for goodes shalbe vnplaced..."

which we had descried in the early drafts is now almost wholly absent. Quaint words or phrases are rare. In one case only do we find an expression which recalls Lyly's far-fetched metaphors, when Mary vainly tries to speak through her tears, and her sighs are described as "unsyllabled breath." As for the fanciful and grotesque similes which diversify every page of *Euphues*, nothing of the kind is to be met with here. A few images, indeed, are in the true line of preciosity, and recall time-honoured conceits, as in the long passage in which Mary's weeping is described by means of successive comparisons: "Repentant eyes are the cellers of Angels, and penitent teares their sweetest wines... Till death dam up the springs, they shall never cease running; and then shall thy soule be ferried in them to the harbour of life..."⁷⁶ But as a rule the images used are plain and forcible, and akin to those of the *Hundred meditations*; often scriptural, and occasionally graphic: Mary's remembrance of her Saviour, "like a flash of lightening in a close and stormie night, serveth [her] but to see [her] present infelicities, and the better to know the horreur of the ensuing darknesse."⁷⁷

It is indeed true that at the beginning of the *Teares* Southwell indulges in a flourish of preciosity, as if he wished to catch the eye of the reader with a gaudy ensign. But even here he is merely borrowing the old conceit on "death" and "life" from his own Latin poems. Mary Magdalen, he says, "not finding the favour to accompanie him [Jesus] in death, and loathing after him to remaine in life, the fire of her true affection inflamed her heart, and her inflamed heart resolved into incessant teares, so that burning and bathing betwene love and griefe, shee led a life ever dying, and felt a death never ending. And when hee by whom shee lived was dead, and shee for whom hee dyed enforcedly left alive, shee praised the dead more than the living: and having lost that light of her life, shee desired to dwell in darknesse, and in the shadow of death, chusing Christs Tombe for her best home, and his coase for her chiefe comfort."⁷⁸ In any case, such instances of pronounced mannerism do not occur again. Whatever the seeming likeness between the *Teares* and *Euphues*, the difference in style is fundamental. When compared to his contemporaries of the Euphuistic school, Southwell appears to us as remarkably modern. He has got rid of the many-limbed unwieldiness of Lyly's prose, of its uncouth lumber and gaudy stage-properties. He has discovered good taste. Take a passage at random in his work, and compare its analytical conciseness with the synthetical heaviness of *Euphues*: "Remember what they [the angels] are, where they sit, from whence they come, and to whom they speake. They are angels of peace,

⁷⁶ *St Peters complaint* etc., 1636 ed., sig. P7a-P8a.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, sig. N1b.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, sig. K6a-b.

neither sent without cause, nor seene but of favour. They sit in the tombe, to shew that they are no strangers to thy losse. They come from heaven, from whence all happy newes descendeth. They speake to thy selfe, as though they had some speciall embassage to deliver unto thee. Aske them therefore of thy master, for they are likeliest to returne thee a desired answer.⁷⁹

Therefore, though it be true that Southwell did best at first to put on a literary disguise, for a pious purpose, it is no less true that he did not succeed. The fantastic exuberance of Euphuism was distasteful to the precise neatness of his nature and to the acquired elegance of his classical education. The judgment of Fr Thurston needs qualifying. It is indeed a fact that *Mary Magdalens teares* enjoyed considerable popularity; the work was first printed while its author was being kept in prison as a traitor; it ran through no fewer than nine English and two continental editions within the thirty-two years that followed his death; it was widely imitated in prose and verse, amongst others by Thomas Lodge, Nicholas Breton and Gervase Markham; and the tearful sentimentalism which it ushered into English literature lasted on as late as Crashaw's *Weeper*. Quite possibly also, the show that Southwell made of gratifying the tastes of his fellow-contrymen, may have won him some admirers. But he was definitely outside the run of Elizabethanism, and his success must have been due to other and more enduring causes.

For one thing, *Mary Magdalen's teares* may be termed a popular work. Its subtlety is neither deep nor abstruse; it makes easy reading for the homeliest of perusers, and never strays beyond the simplest and most obvious psychological facts. Southwell's contemporaries were fond of proverbial sayings, and liked to hear general truths broadly stated. They would find pleasure in such assertions as the following: "In true lovers every part is an eye, and every thought a looke,"⁸⁰ or "Love increaseth the conceit of [her] losse, which endeareth the meanest things, and doubleth the estimate of things that are precious."⁸¹ Besides, Southwell's preciousity is not recondite. His simple imagery was such as to provide literary pleasure to unsophisticated readers. Religious emotion, just like profane love, finds an ever-reviving freshness about such hackneyed similes as those of flames, fire and ice, scorching and freezing, tears and sighs. Even Magdalen's unnatural and irritating obstinacy in weeping would not be repellent to those who had truly sounded the depths of remorse. One again, artificiality in the outward form does not spell insincerity; especially as Southwell often

⁷⁹ *St Peters complaint* etc., 1636 ed., sig. L2b.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, sig. L6b.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, sig. M12b.

risers above mawkishness, and reaches the height of tender pathos. There is no mistaking the warmth of his devotion in the passage in which he imagines that Christ might have come to life again in the arms of Mary Magdalen :

"All hazards in taking him should have beene with usury repaid, if lying in thy lappe, thou mightest have seene him revived, and his disfigured and dead body, beautified in thine armes with a Divine Majesty. If thou haddest hoped so good fortune to thy watery eyes, that they might have beene first cleared with the beames of his desired light : or that his eyes might have blessed thee with the first fruits of his glorious lookes : If thou haddest imagined any likelihood to have made happy thy dying heart with taking in the first gaspes of his living breath, or to have heard the first words of his pleasing voyce : Finally, if thou haddest thought to have seene his injuries turned to honours, the markes of his misery to ornaments of glory, and the dept (sic) of thy heavinesse to such an height of felicity, whatsoever thou haddest done to obtaine him had beene but a mite for a million, and too slender a price for so soveraigne a peniworth."⁸²

The following lines are even more touching. They are Southwell's final rendering of a passage of the Italian meditation, in which the writer gently upbraids Jesus for his question to Mary Magdalen : "Why weepest thou ?" The insistent repetition of these words, with its plaintively melancholy effect, was borrowed by the Jesuit from his model, but he used it to the best possible effect. The passage is a perfect instance of sweetness of feeling allied to musical softness in the style :

"O desire of the heart, and onely joy of her soule, why demandest thou why shee weepeth, or for whom shee seeketh ? But a while since she saw thee, her onely hope hanging on a tree, with thy head full of thornes, thy eies full of teares, thy eares full of blasphemies, thy mouth full of gall, thy whole person mangled and disfigured, and dost thou aske her why shee weepeth ? Scarce three dayes passed, shee beheld thy armes and legges racked with violent puls, thy hands and feet boared with nayles, thy side wounded with a speare, thy whole body torne with stripes, and goared in blood, and doest thou, her onely grieve, aske her why shee weepeth ? Shee beheld thee upon the Crosse with many teares, and most lamentable cries, yeelding up her Ghost, that is, thy owne Ghost, and alas, askest thou why shee weepeth ? And now to make up her misery, having but one hope alive, which was, that for a small releefe of her other afflictions, shee might have anointed thy body, that hope is also dead, since thy body is removed, and shee now standeth hopeless of all helpe, and demandest thou why shee

⁸² *Ibid.*, sig. P5a-b.

weepeth, and for whom she seeketh ? Full well thou knowest, that thee onely she desireth, thee onely she loveth, all things beside thee she contemneth, and canst thou finde in thy heart to aske her whom she seeketh ?..."⁸³

A comparison with the original reveals the source of both feeling and expression in *Mary Magdalens teares*; but it also forthwith reveals Southwell's huge superiority in regard to literary craftsmanship. Such fervency of love, expressed in such noble prose, accounts for the appeal of his lyrical work. It may appear tedious to the modern reader, because it is lacking in every element of colour and relief, and has been intentionally reduced to a neutral tint. Yet, though its plainness be diversified by no touch of quaint fancifulness, though its psychological commonsense seldom reach to depth of thought; its restrained soberness in the expression of glowing emotion testifies to the writer's keen sense of artistic beauty, which, once unhampered by the leading strings of imitation, will freely blossom out.

* * * * *

Mary Magdalens teares is the only one, among Southwell's prose works, that has come to occupy a recognized position in the history of English literature. This may give rise to some wonder, for it is by no means the most original, the pithiest or the richest in poetical inspiration. The *Epistle*, which comes next in date, shows an advance in every respect, and will amply repay the trouble taken by the modern reader to seek out the few scattered copies now extant. Though it ran through four editions between 1587 and 1616, it is now as good as forgotten. The reason of this neglect probably lies in its controversial character, which brought about the destruction of most of the issues by order of the government, and which will clearly appear from the following summary.

The *Epistle of comfort to the Reverend priestes, & to the Honorable, Worshipful, & other of the Laye sort restrayned in Durance for the Catholicke Fayth*, is meant to strengthen the constancy of those whose freedom has been lost, whose goods and lives have been jeopardised or sacrificed for the sake of the "old religion." It purposes to fortify them against "tribulation" — the very word, as well as the title itself, remind one of Thomas More's work composed in the Tower, the *Dialogue of comfort against tribulation*. But the mood of the Jesuit is altogether different from that of Henry VIII's chancellor. Where More is content to advise and persuade in the style of friendly, though grave, conversation, Southwell assumes the part and dignity of a priest and a teacher, who earnestly, almost solemnly, unfolds to the Catholics

⁸³ *St Peters complaint* etc., 1636 ed., sigs. O5b-O6a.

and to their adversaries the spiritual consequences, good or evil, of the course of action they choose to follow. In the first few chapters he addresses his own co-religionists, and explains why tribulation in this world should be acceptable, nay welcome to a true Christian. The greater the stress, and the more we are sure, he says, that we are in the right path; for the devil aims "his strongest dints" against virtue; and the sufferings to which he subjects our flesh prove that we "be Gods children tenderly beloved of him." Tribulation must be suffered willingly, and "best agreeth with the estate, and condition of our life;" besides, it is but "little in respect of our desertes."⁸⁴

Here the author passes on to more controversial ground. He asserts that the Catholic cause is just. This justice alone, he says, ennoble "the estate of the persecuted," makes imprisonments, torments and death "honourable," and martyrdom "glorious." He affirms "that heretikes cannot be martyrs;" proclaims the "vnhappinesse of the scismatikes," who, though Catholics at heart, attend the public worship of the State Church; and magnificently describes the beauty of the reward promised in Heaven to those who die for the faith.⁸⁵ In the last chapter, *A warning to the persecutors*, Southwell carefully avoids the threatening tone that was so common a feature in the polemical writings of contemporary Puritans; he tranquilly, composedly, argues with Elizabeth's ministers, first describing the spiritual benefits which they unwillingly bring to their victims, and then the evils which they are certain to draw upon themselves; evils from which, he says, the Catholics would be ready to save them at the cost of their own blood. From end to end, the tone is one of supreme serenity. The writer is quietly convinced that he speaks the absolute and final truth, which will vanquish in the end. There is no need for bitterness or violence in one who is certain of victory. He soars high up above the paltry happenings of this world, and only views their spiritual consequences. His very love of his fellow-men is hardly of this earth; and yet he speaks out of the fulness of his heart, in order to make both friend and foe the sharers of the happiness he has already arrived at for himself, and of the eternal bliss which lies in store for all, if they care to take it.

Yet, despite the intense lovingness once again displayed in the *Epistle*, the general atmosphere is far removed from the sentimentality of the *Tears*. Manliness, plain, straightforward and square-dealing, is now uppermost. The harder spiritual realities have to be faced, and the Jesuit makes no attempt to gloze them over, in his advice to the Catholics or in his warnings to their adversaries. To the former, he asserts that true religion ought to be viewed by them not in its gentler

⁸⁴ *An Epistle of comfort...*, 1605 ed., headings of chapters I-V.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, chapters VI-XV and especially chapter XV.

but in its sterner aspect. Christ himself has chosen awful shapes for his prefiguration in the Old Testament. : "Do we thinke that his rigour and justice, signified by these terrible semblances, is relented, that he should shew himselfe vnto vs, only in amiable and louely countenances : Surely we are greatly deceiued, if we feed our selves with this vain persuasion."⁸⁶ When he turns to Elizabeth's ministers, his admonition, though charitable, is none the less severe. You persecute men, he says, and then you are foolish enough to send them as ambassadors to Heaven, "there to be continuell solicitors with God for reuenge against their murderers, the effect of whose prayers you partely proue : and if Gods mercy be not the greater, more shall you proue hereafter."⁸⁷

A corresponding change in Southwell's literary style might be expected, and does, in fact, to some extent take place. His newly-found directness would, however, be reflected in the *Epistle* far more than it really is, if it were not for two counter-currents which make against excessive austerity. For one thing, the influence of classical oratory upon him is far from wearing away. It is now strengthened by his patristic learning, which appears as quite considerable. Opening the book at random we find quotations of Clemens Alexandrinus, Eusebius of Emesa, St John Chrysostome, St Macarius, St Bernard, St Cyprian, St John Damascene, Anselm, Tertullian, St Jerome, St Ignatius — the list is far from complete. What is more, the Latin text of these quotations is followed by English translations; and a comparison of both proves beyond a doubt the patristic origin of turns of phrase which, on a first view, would unhesitatingly be termed Euphuistic. The following passage is a case in point. Southwell expresses regret that, when attracted by the beauty of creatures, man should love the image of God, and neglect "whome it resembleth." To show that God is more excellent than any created beauty, he adds a few lines of St Augustine : "Deus a quo auerti cadere, in quem conuerti resurgere, in quo manere consistere est. Deus a quo exire mori, in quem redire reuiuiscere, in quo habitare uiuere est. Deus quem nemo amittit nisi deceptus, nemo quaerit nisi admonitus, nemo inuenit nisi purgatus..." Southwell's English rendering runs as follows : God, "from whome the reuolting is falling, to whome the returning is rising, in whome the staying is sure standing, God from whome to depart, is to die, to whome to repaire is to reuiue, in whome to dwell is to liue. God whome none leeseth, but deceiued, none seeketh but admonished, none findeth but the clensed."⁸⁸

⁸⁶ *An Epistle of comfort*, 1605 ed., p. 62.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 390.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

The impetus gained from this translation is such, that the writer proceeds in the same vein a few lines further on: "Shall the presence of his picture, wherein he is rudely expressed, make vs lauish of our wealth, carelesse of our liberty, and prodigall of our luies..."⁸⁹ Parallelism in sound as well as in sense is found in a quotation from Eusebius Emissenius: "Virus amaritudinis obscurat fraude dulcedinis; prouocat prius odor poculi, sed praefocat infusus sapor in virus: mel est quod ascendit in labia, venenum et fel, quod descendit in viscera." Southwell's sense of the beauty of prose led him to avoid the internal rhymes in his rendering "He shrowdeth his bitter poyson vnder a deceitfull sweetnesse: the pleasant sauour of the cup inuiteth, but the sweet taste of the poyson choketh: it is hony that commeth vp to our lips, but gall and poyson that goeth downe into our bowels..."⁹⁰ But almost immediately after we come across an instance of elaborate symmetry: "Where God purposeth to heale, he spareth not to launce, he ministrerth bitter syroppes to purge corrupt humors, and sendeth embassies of death et reuenge, where he meaneth to affoord eternal life and felicity."⁹¹

Other features of "Euphuism," which were absent from the *Teares*, appear in the *Epistle*, such as the more or less fantastic natural history which Lyly uses with such gusto. It is found especially in the early part of the book; for it seems that here again, Southwell begins with a flourish. We hear of the serpent which is struck dead by the smell of the vine,⁹² of the "libard" that tears the picture of a man,⁹³ of the blood-coloured juice shown to elephants to induce them to fight,⁹⁴ of the bees and honey found in the lion's mouth.⁹⁵ There is however no reason to think that Southwell followed upon Lyly's footsteps when thus rehearsing strange legends from the imaginary life of beast and plant. Whenever the origin of these stories — sometimes more really true than believable — can be traced, we are again brought face to face either with Scripture or with the Fathers. The unnaturalness of the "ostrige," that leaves her eggs lying about, is mentioned in the book of Job.⁹⁶ The tale of the viper that kills the male and is in turn killed by its own brood, is borrowed from Eusebius Emissenius;⁹⁷ and John Damascene, long before Southwell, imagined or repeated the parable

⁸⁹ *An Epistle of comfort*, 1605 ed., p. 70.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 14.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 412; cf. Job, xxxix, 14.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 407.

of the man who, being pursued by a unicorn, holds on to a tree by the side of a well.⁹⁸

Such fantastic tales, however, are only the dross with the pure metal. Southwell's innate sense of the beautiful, strengthened and guided by his scriptural and patristic models, leads him straight, most of the time, to the most natural, forcible, and poetical imagery. This concurs with the influence of classical rhetoric in turning what might have been the drab fabric of a dry homily into shot silk bright with every hue of the rainbow. Southwell's images follow hard upon one another, almost breathlessly, melt into one another in endless change. And the thread out of which this splendid tissue is spun is the text of the Bible, whether it be directly quoted or used as a source of inspiration. In his last chapter, the writer enlarges upon the words of St Jerome: "Sanguis martyrum Seminarium Ecclesiarum," and addresses the "persecutors" in the following words: "You haue laboured to suppress vs this 30 yeares"⁹⁹: and yet of our ashes spring others, and our dead bones (as *Ezechiel* prophesied) are come to be *exercitus grandis*, a huge army. With your thundering both the clowd of errour is dissolued, the enclosed light of truth displayed, & the earth watered with profitable showers to the ripening of Gods corne. New slips are euer engrafted, when the old bough is cut off; and the vertue of the roote that the bough leeseth, the slip enioyeth. You cut open fruit and shed the kernell on the earth, where for one that you spoyle, many will spring vp of it. We are the wheate of Christ (as S. *Ignatius* said) and are ready (if you will) to be ground with the teeth of wild beasts, or if you will not suffer that, with the mill stones of your heauy persecution, that we may become pure and cleane bread in the sight of Christ..."¹⁰⁰

Concettism and Biblical imagery stand at opposite poles. No wonder that under the influence of Scripture and scriptural writers, Southwell should slough the remnants of his juvenile artificiality, and come into closer touch with nature; that his gifts of observation should be sharpened, and lead him to a direct and exact, though still lyrical, view of reality. The similes in the *Epistle* which appear as original testify to the keenness of the Jesuit's view and to the wealth of his experience. Some of them are borrowed from the work of craftsmen. This is how he shows that the sufferings inflicted upon the Catholics will be so many titles to heavenly glory: "As a cunning Imbroiderer, hauing a peece of torne or frettet veluet for his ground, so contriuet and draweth his worke, that the frettet places being wrought ouer with curious knots or flowers, they farre excell in shew the other whole

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

⁹⁹ On this figure, see above, p. 147.

¹⁰⁰ *An Epistle of comfort*, 1605 ed., pp. 385-386.

parts of the veluet : so God being to worke vpon the ground of our bodies, by you so rent and dismembred, will couer the ruptures, breaches, and wounds, which you haue made, with so vnspeakable glory, that the whole partes which you left, shall be highly beautified by them."¹⁰¹ And Southwell adds another simile from the crafts, that of the paperer who makes fine paper out of old shreds. Here again, however, the Fathers are closely followed, and a model is supplied by a passage quoted from St Macarius : "If the potter tempereth his fornace agreeably to the vessell, that he mindeth to frame : if the golden smith vse great care, not to haue his fire to great, or to litle, for the quantity of his metall : if the carier hath a regard not to load his beast, more than he is well able to beare : How much more wary is God... in not suffering vs to be tempted aboue our force."¹⁰²

Some of Southwell's images are so vivid in tone, so full of the substance of material objects, that it seems as if the influence of his native country were gaining ground already at the expense of his classical upbringing. That English love of things which Rupert Brooke was to express so richly, is gradually ousting, in the *Epistle*, that abstract neutrality of tint which its writer had up till then schooled himself to. This is particularly striking in the case of that nautical imagery which he had already used in his Latin poems and was to revert to so frequently. The following passage is among the most beautiful in the work; it is worth reading to the end on account of the purity and cleanness of its style, of the noble majesty of the simile; but the first few lines are a lively picture, which almost brings the smack of the salt spray to the reader's lips : "As the Shippe, while it is vpon the maine sea, is in a manner a Castle or commonwealth by it selfe; and hauing all the sayles hoysed vp, and swolne with the wind, and the Banners displayed, with a very loftie shew daunceth vpon the waues, and allureth euery eye to behold the pride therof : but when it is come into the Hauen, it is streight ransacked by the searcher, forced to pay custome, and the sayles being gathered, the banners taken in, the ankers cast, it lyeth quietly at rode and is little regarded : So they, that while they sayled vpon the surges of worldly vanities, and followed the tyde of a consciencelesse course, might range vncontroled, & hauing the fauourable gale of authority to waft them forward, and honours and pompe to set them forth, were admired of the people : if they chaunce by Gods calling to retire themselues into the Porte of true faith, and vertuous life, to worke their saluation, they are straight searched and sacked, their sayles gathered, the accustomed wind set, their glory disgraced, and they litle or nothing esteemed."¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 397.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 47.

Not only is Southwell capable of realistic observation; it seems as if he occasionally added to it the merest touch of sly humour. One can hardly get away from this impression when reading the passage in which he takes up the same theme as Thomas More in one of his early poems,¹⁰⁴ and contends that man should be no less earnest in his love of God than in his love of woman. The first part only — which refers to human love — will be quoted here: "We see, that an enamoured knight hath no greater felicity, then to doe that, which may be acceptable to his Paramour. & the fading beauty of a faire Ladies Countenance, is able to worke so forceably in mens mindes, that neyther losse of riches, danger of indurance, menacings of tormentes, no not present death is able to withhold where she inuiteth, or make the barke ride at anker that is wafted in her streames. Euery perill vndertaken for her, seemeth pleasant, euery reproach honourable, all drudgery delightsome, yea the very woundes that come from her, or are suffered for her, are voyd of smart: and more reioyced is the wounded wretch, with hope that his hurt will purchase fauour, then aggreeued that his body hath receiued such a mayme. The colours that like her seeme fayrest, the meate that fitteth her tast sweetest, the fashion agreable to her fancie comeliest, her faultes are vertues, her sayings oracles, her deeds patternes. Finally whatsoeuer pleaseth her, be it neuet so vnpleasant seemeth good, and whatsoeuer commeth from her, be it neuer so deare bought, and of litle valew, is deemed pretious, and a cheape penyworth..."¹⁰⁵

Southwell was too earnestly mindful of the spiritual consequences of human actions "tiam in minimis," to indulge for long in psychological analysis for its own sake, or indeed to take the same pleasure as other Elizabethan writers in the changeful and variegated show provided by man's life. But he feels that his delight in the beauty of this world is permissible and praiseworthy, since it brings to him a foretaste of the infinite beauty of God. Artistic creation is an act of piety, and Heaven itself will be a palace of art: "Let this for the glory of the place suffice, that all the ornaments, delights, and inuentions, that either nature hath bred, or art deuised, or man imagined, shall there meete to the furniture of these roomes: and whatsoever hath beene, is, or shall be of rare beauty to set any thing forth, shall there be present; & all this in a thousand-fold more delicious & exquisite manner, then euer hath been seene or conceiued in this world..."¹⁰⁶

This passage is a fit conclusion to the study of Southwell's early prose works. Both the *Hundred meditations*, *Mary Magdalens teares*,

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

¹⁰⁴ T. E. BRIDGETT, *Life and writings of Sir Thomas More*, London 1892, p. 430.

¹⁰⁵ *An Epistle of Comfort.*, 1605 ed., p. 67.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 370.

and the *Epistle of comfort* repay the critic's perusal; they all cast a light upon the development of the English style, and upon the ancient and independent origin of much that is generally regarded as Euphuism. But their interest does not lie merely in the contribution they bring to the history of literature. They are works of more lasting value. In them appear Southwell's love and sense of beauty — not indeed the riot of colour and swarming life of Elizabethanism — but pure, transparent like the morning sky, fresh like a breeze at sea; not darkly aglow with the lusts of man, but clearly alight with his heavenward hopes; manifested in the careful neatness of the form, and in the author's wondering contemplation of the fairness of God's created world.

CHAPTER VIII

ITALIAN MANNERISM AND CHRISTIAN REMORSE : ST PETERS COMPLAINT.

On a first reading, *Saint Peters complaint* is disappointing. Long familiarity must first of all enable the reader to pierce the overlying crust of conceits and oratory, before the deeper feeling is revealed. The vigorous, though serene, style of the *Epistle*, its vivid and spontaneous imagery, its freshness of hue, its natural ease and freedom of diction, now make way for the conscious effort of the literary craftsman, whose anxiety to please his readers diverts him from the true channel of his poetical inspiration. Southwell's juvenile partiality for literary "elegance" put up a longer light in his verse than it did in his prose. This was due, to some extent, to his classical training; but in the case of *Saint Peters complaint*, it can be shown that the influence of Italian letters was equally at work.

The *Complaint* is, in fact, one of the early-born members of a considerable family of tearful poems, which began with Luigi Tansillo's Italian composition, *Le Lagrime di San Pietro*. Offshoots of the main stem are found in various countries, in the guise of translations and adaptations, such as those of Malherbe¹ and Robert Estienne,² in France, and of Luis Galvez de Montalvo³ in Spain. In England, the *Complaint* had appeared before any of these, and was in its turn followed by imitations, some of them anonymous,⁴ others by such well-known authors as Samuel Rowlands⁵ or Nicholas Breton.⁶ The history of Tansillo's poem and of its progeny is of especial importance for the study of the post-Trentine literature of remorse throughout Europe. We shall however not enter for the present upon a full study of the subject, which will be considered elsewhere, and we shall merely state the few facts which are needed,, in order to bring out the extent of Southwell's indebtedness to Tansillo.

¹ *Les larmes de S. Pierre*, Paris 1587 sqq.

² *Les larmes de Sainct Pierre*, Paris 1595 sqq.

³ *El Llanto de Sant Pedro*, in *Primera parte del Thesoro de divina poesia*, ed. by Estevan de VILLALOBOS, Lisbon 1598..

⁴ *Saint Peters Ten Teares*, London 1597, 1602.

⁵ *The betraying of Christ...*, London 1598.

⁶ *The Countess of Pembroke's Passion*. Cf. SOUTHWELL'S *Complete poems*, GROSART'S ed., p. xcvi, and *Dict. Nat. Biogr.*, art. HERBERT, Mary, by SYDNEY LEE. For all these works, see bibliography below.

The *Lagrimae* are in the nature of amends made by the Italian poet, after the council of Trent, for the licentiousness of his life and writings at an earlier period.⁷ After being circulated in manuscript form as early as August, 1559,⁸ they first appeared as an appendix to a translation of the *Aeneid* in 1560.⁹ This edition, entitled *Le Lagrimae di San Piero*, was pirated, and ascribed the poem to Cardinal de' Pucci. It only included forty-two stanzas in the *ottava rima*. It was reprinted in volumes of selections on six different occasions between 1571 and 1582.¹⁰ In 1585 there appeared another edition, printed under Tansillo's name, which was altogether different from the first. It included nine hundred and ten stanzas. The editor, Gianbattista Attendolo, declared that he had had the author's manuscript in his keeping since the latter's death in 1568; but he published as a preface several letters in which now he himself, now Mgr Spinola, bishop of Nola, were profusely praised for having touched up and improved the work. In fact the 1560 stanzas reappear at various places of the 1585 text; but whatever still faintly recalled Tansillo's amorous vein had now been expunged, and further corrections bring the poem into line with the canons of "elegance." Of the editions which followed, nothing need be said here, since to all appearances, Attendolo's version was the only one published from 1585 to Southwell's death and even later.

The broad fact that Southwell was indebted to Tansillo for the subject and much of the matter of *Saint Peter's complaint* has been proved beyond a doubt by recent research. He perhaps became acquainted with the *Lagrimae* through his brother-Jesuits, who had been entrusted with the censoring of the book. What were the extent and the character of the version which he used? The point cannot be discussed before we know something more of both the 1560 and 1585 editions. Now there is not only a huge difference in length between the *Lagrimae* of 1560 and those of 1585; there is also a huge contrast in character. The former version already includes, it is true, some of its narrative elements, and tells how Peter first read his crime in the eyes of the Lord, left the inn, walked to the Garden of Olives and there found the footprints of Jesus. Yet it is rather, on the whole, in the nature of a poetical meditation on these few facts. In the first stanzas

⁷ The "Carmina" (Rime) of Tansillo were placed on the Index in 1559, but were to be withdrawn from it because the author had expressed his repentance in a "Canzone" addressed to Paul iv. They were however proscribed again in 1590, pending correction, but were struck out from the Index again in 1596 (H. REUSCH, *Index der verbotenen Bücher*, Bonn, 1885, vol. I, p. 392.)

⁸ *Modern language review*, vol. xix, 1924, p. 287, art. by Prof. Mario PRAZ.

⁹ *Le Lagrimae di San Pedro del Reverendissimo Cardinal de Pucci*, Venetia, MDLX.

¹⁰ *Modern language review*, vol. xix, p. 274, n. 1.

¹¹ *Le Lagrimae di San Pietro del Signor Lvigi Tansillo da Nola...* In Vico EQUENSE, M.D.LXXXV. Cf. Sig. 2b, 4^a-b, R8^a.

(1-xii), the effect of the glance which Christ cast upon Peter is described by means of successive similes : the Lord's looks are compared to arrows shot from a bow, his eyes to a mirror, then to a speaking tongue; while the disciple melts into tears like snow thawing in the sunshine. Then Peter calls upon death to rid him of a life that he can no longer bear, and thus introduces a long passage on true death and true life, which is closely akin to some of Southwell's Latin poems, and shows that the theme, with its accompanying conceits, was a favourite one in Counter-Reformation literary circles. Peter envies the happiness of those who die young; he ought not, he says, to have lied to preserve his life, since Christ might have given it to him again. He has denied "Life" itself through fear of death : (st. xiv-xx)

Per tema di morir, negai la vita.

How happy, he says, the Holy Innocents, who though they could not profess Christ with their voices, proclaimed him with the blood which gushed from their throats; who won the crown of martyrdom before they were crowned with hair; whose mothers have no reason to weep, since they have no fault to rue (st. xxi-xviii). After further exhorting himself to grief, Peter comes to the Garden of Olives. Tansillo has by then exhausted his capacity for inward meditation; his Southern fondness for a religion expressed through material objects and outward gestures now reasserts itself. On entering the Garden, Peter falls flat upon the ground, which is all trampled about with footmarks. He recognises those of Christ from their sweet perfume, and begins to wash them with his tears. The only joy left to him, he says, is to touch the ground on which Jesus' feet rested : he prays that he may remain there and die (St. xxxi-xxxvi). The stanzas which now follow are found in Attendolo's edition at the beginning of *Pianti* II and V; and in fact, they are unconnected with what comes before. The former two (xxxvii-xxxviii) are a meditation on the treachery of Christ's disciples; the latter four obviously describe the first dawn and sunrise after the Lord's death, an unnatural morning, heavy with a leaden gloom. If one leaves out this tag-end, the earlier *Laglime* are purely lyrical. They are made up, on the whole, of Peter's soliloquy; they express his remorse by means of similes in which poetical imagination plays an important part, though wit is by no means absent.

The later *Laglime* are of course to some extent lyrical, since Peter every now and then breaks out into renewed tears and wailings; but apart from *Pianto* I, which includes the 1560 stanzas, the poem is different in its inspiration, and far more ambitious in its purpose. Tansillo, like Torquato Tasso, intended to write the great epic of the Counter-reformation. The bare story of St Peter's remorse could not provide sufficient material, so he had to fall back on an artificial device.

He tells the story of Peter's wanderings in and about Jerusalem in the course of the three days that followed upon his betrayal of Christ. Each place in turn suggests the events which have taken place there, while various incidents, such as the apparitions of angels, of Isaiah, or the discovery of Judas' body, nourish further developments. The whole is a jumbled collection of episodes, purely descriptive and even pictorial in character, which covers practically the whole of the Old and New Testaments, and the history of the Church. The various parts are unconnected by any historical or dramatic progress; the 1560 stanzas always excepted, their main feature is gaudy, shallow brilliancy rather than spiritual depth; they are as foreign as possible to Southwell's meditative reflectiveness.

* * * * *

Whatever its features, however, the Italian poem does not concern us for its own sake. Our purpose is merely to find out how much of it reappears in *Saint Peters Complaint*, both in regard to the substance and to the style of the poem. It is therefore high time that we should turn to Southwell's great lyric of remorse, and first of all, to the different shapes which it assumed in succession; for as in the case of *Mary Magdalens teares*, here again we are able to follow the poet throughout the successive stages of his creative work. His progress is exactly the same in both cases. *Saint Peters complaint* was, to begin with, little more than a mere translation, in which the preciousness of the original was however retained; the writer then followed up the lead given to him, and gradually improved upon his model, until at the outset of his campaign in England, in his eagerness to gain influence with his own countrymen, he reached the height of the artificial style which is best described as "Euphuism," though it may differ from Lyly's in more than one particular.

In his edition of the *Complete* poems, Grosart had printed, from one of the Stonyhurst manuscripts, a fragment headed *Peeter Playnt*, which looked like preparatory jottings for a poem on St Peter's remorse.¹² He himself considered it in that light, and entitled it "interlineations and studies" for the *Complaint*. This was a mistake, as we now know, thanks to an important discovery made by professor Mario Praz. The piece is nothing else than a very accurate translation of the beginning of Tansillo's *Lagrima*, as found in the "Pucci" volume. This translation covers stanzas 1 to XIII, and the first two lines of stanza XIV. The correspondence is complete in every point, stanzas V and VI, with their allusions to a "youthful dame" and to "lovers' looks" being found in Southwell's rendering. At the outset, the Jesuit tried

¹² *Complete poems*, pp. 1xxxv-1xxxvi, 217-220. STONYHURST MS. A.V.4, ff. 50a-51b.

to turn the Italian poem into English stanzas of eight lines each, and went to some pains on that account; but he soon wearied of the effort, and from the sixth stanza onward, was content with a literal translation of the original, cut up into uneven lines of clumsy prose.

Tansillo's poem in its first shape and Southwell's rendering need not be again reprinted here in full, since they are easy of access. Besides the latter is at best a crude attempt, of small literary value. As a translation, it is creditable to its author's knowledge of the Italian tongue: it also bears witness to the great verbal facility he was already gifted with in his early manhood. Occasionally the influence of Latin reappears, as when the following lines of Tansillo

...che giamai seguace

Non fu del suo Signor no'l conoscea...¹³

are Englished thus :

...swore he was not of the fold

Of Chrystes adherents which he never knew...¹⁴

but on the whole Southwell's vocabulary is rich and rather more idiomatic and racy than in his early prose, no doubt because the narrow compass of the line did not allow of the use of many-syllabled words. This quality, however, is hardly turned to any poetical account, and one must confess that *Peeter Playnt*, both as regards the build of the stanzas and lines, and the harmony of the verse, is utterly prosaic. The young writer was obviously lacking in experience; else he would not have substituted for Tansillo's "ottava rima" a five-beat stanza with the rhyme-arrangement ababcdcd. The former leaves the reader with an impression of well-membered completeness; the latter cuts up the stanza into two, and produces an effect of wearisome repetition. How *Peeter Playnt* compares with the early *Lagrima* will appear from the following instance, in which Southwell's emendations have been used to reconstruct the stanza as it would have stood when finished. The passage recalls the moving words in the gospel of St Luke (xxii, 61), after Peter's third denial of Christ : "Et conversus Dominus respexit Petrum." Tansillo fails to realize the dramatic force of this bare sentence, and uses it as a pretext for variations on a conceit. Yet there is something naïvely pleasant about his preciousity, which entirely disappears in the plain and literal English rendering : the latter is heavily pedestrian and nothing more :

Ma gli archi, che nel core gli aventaro

Le saette più acute, e più mortali;

Fur gli occhi del Signor, quando il miraro :

Gli occhi fur gli archi, e' i guardi fur gli strali,

The bowes which leueld at his dolful brest

The sharpest arows and most deadly flyghts,

Were theis of Chryste, when they on him did rest;

These eyes were bowes, there lookes lyke arowes lyght,

¹³ *Le Lagrime di S. Piero*, Venetia 1560, f. 43^b.

¹⁴ Stonyhurst MS. A.V.4, f. 50^a.

Che del cor non contenti, sen' passaro
 Fin dentro a l'alma; e vi fer piaghe tali,
 Che bisognò, mentre che visse poi,
 Vngerle col licor de gli occhi suoi.¹⁵

Which not content to hurt his heauy hart
 Glanced to the soule and wounded in such wyse
 That he was fayne, while lyf did quyte departe,
 To oynt it still with liquour of his eies.¹⁶

Southwell's translation of the *Lagrima*, unlike his rendering of the meditation on St Mary Magdalen, hardly forebodes his future greatness as a man of letters. Now whereas the general trend in his literary life was from preciousness to directness, in the case of *Saint Peters complaint*, there is an upward slope before the descent begins. The three successive forms of the poem are increasingly artificial. The advance is perceptible, though moderate as yet, in the first version of the *Complaint*. This version is known through two manuscripts only,¹⁷ and has never yet been published. It is, therefore, practically forgotten. It is strikingly unlike the later text which was printed as early as 1595 and is reproduced in Grosart's edition: first of all, in regard to its contents, for it consists of twelve stanzas only; these are paralleled by some of the one hundred and thirty-two stanzas of the finished poem, but the order is not the same; they seem to be placed at haphazard, except for the final invocation to Christ's mercy, which ends the poem in both cases. Then, again, the style is altogether different. The earlier *Complaint* recalls the *Four-fould Meditation* of Philip Howard, with its prosaic monotone, its clumsy auxiliaries, its lengthy relative clauses, its repetitions:

Where was the hart that did so little feare
 The armed troupes that him did apprehende,
 Where was the sworde that strooke of malchus eare,
 Where was the faith of Christes professed frende?...¹⁸

Southwell's manner, it is true, reveals itself in such typical lines as

I of so greate, god of so small accounte...¹⁹

while the old conceits of the Latin poems, and the same pun on "good" and "God," which appears in the *Teares*, embellish the first stanza:

How can I live that haue my life deny'de,
 What can I hope that lost my hope in feare,
 What trust to one that trewth it self defyde,
 What good in him that did his god forswear?...²⁰

But on the whole the diction of the earlier *Complaint* is still unadorned, plain and flat, and in marked contrast with the contracted thought,

¹⁵ *Le lagrime di S. Piero, Venetia* 1560, f. 43a.

¹⁶ Stonyhurst MS. A.V.4, f. 50a. The punctuation has been added.

¹⁷ British Museum, Harleian MS. 6921; Stonyhurst College, MS.A.V.27, ff. 53a-54b.

¹⁸ *Ibid*, f. 54a, st. vii.

¹⁹ *Ibid*, f. 53b, st. vi.

²⁰ *Ibid*, f. 53a, st. i.

set in partitioned half-lines, and enhanced with every trick of oratory, which is the acme of Southwell's preciousity. A comparison of the two successive forms of the same stanza will make the point clearer than any disquisition might do :

Early version

tyrants bloody thretts had me dismay'd,
 smart of cruell torments made me yelde,
 here had bene some pretence to be afrayde,
 should haue fought before I lost the feilde;
 it o infamous foyle, a maydens breathe
 did blowe me downe and blast my soule to death.²¹

Grosart's text.

Threats threw me not, torments I none assayd :
 My fray with shades; conceits did make me yeeld,
 Wounding my thoughts with feares; selfely dismayd,
 I neither fought nor lost, I gaue the field :
 Infamous foyle ! a maiden's easie breath
 Did blowe me downe, and blast my soule to death.²²

We shall presently revert to the particulars of Southwell's preciousity. Meanwhile we must provide a background for such a study of detail, and broadly survey the contents of *Saint Peters complaint* in its finished form. Its composition is quite different from that of the *Lagrima*, for it is written entirely in the first person, and supposed to be spoken by Peter at one time and in one place, immediately after leaving the house of the high priest. It is not a narrative, but a meditation on the four gospels, which, no less than *Mary Magdalens teares*, recalls the paraphrases of the Fathers, and takes up each minute particular in succession to examine it in every possible light. Unlike the *Lagrima* again, the *Complaint* is not a straggling succession of images or episodes; it is a complete and satisfactory whole, not merely in regard to its outward build but also in regard to the feelings which it gives expression to. Beginning with the unallayed bitterness and darkness of remorse, it leads up, through grief and love, to the hope of forgiveness, and final reconciliation with God. Such a conclusion is Southwell's own contribution to the treatment of the theme : unrelieved horror, irreclaimable sinfulness, were repellent both to his own warm-hearted nature and to his Jesuit optimism.

Within the frame of this general progress, there was ample room for his poetical imagination to play in; the necessary motives being supplied, as in Tansillo's poem, by the text of Scripture itself. Peter begins with an exhortation to his own soul to weep, expressed through an elaborate conceit on a ship at sea (st. I-VIII); he then goes on to a description of his crime, reflections on his own weakness, and invectives against himself (st. IX-XXXI). This is the part in which he deplores, through various conceits, his loss of true "life," and recalls several incidents of his past career. The central part of the poem is taken up by a series of self-contained developments on various incidents or particulars recorded in the gospels : the apostle's meditation is fed by his remembrance of

²¹ *Ibid*, st. III.

²² *Complete poems*, GROSART'S ed., p. 18, st. XXVIII.

the Garden of Olives, of the portress who put questions to him, of John who led him to Caiaphas' palace, of the fire at which he warmed himself, of the cock's crowing, of the Lord's glance towards him, of the Holy Innocents (st. xxxii-xcvi). He then reverts to self-reproach, but in a different mood; little by little his bitter grief is soothed by his own tears; fierce self-upbraiding now makes way for melancholy sorrow, for composed mournfulness. Peter seeks comfort in his very contrition, and in a deeply touching passage, beseeches Christ to vouchsafe forgiveness to his repentance. Though Jesus' answer be not expressed, it is suggest themselves. It cannot be doubted that while penning the final of his love (st. xcvi-ccxii).

* * * * *

If one compares this summary of the *Complaint* with that of the "Pucci" *Lagime* which was given above, points of likeness immediately suggest themselves. It cannot be doubted that while penning the final version of his poem²³ Southwell had Tansillo's lines still ringing in his ears. Were his recollections, however, from the 1560 edition alone? Did they extend to a fuller version, from which he also borrowed? That he did know and imitate such a version is asserted by professor Mario Praz: "It seems impossible, he says, not to believe that Southwell knew a good deal more of the Italian poem than the short ("Pucci") fragment above referred to."²⁴ In support of this assertion the distinguished critic quotes a number of passages of the *Lagime* and of the *Complaint*, in which he perceives points of likeness. He seems, however, to have been ill-advised when choosing for this purpose a late edition of the former, that of Tommaso Costo, which only appeared in 1606, eleven years after Southwell's death. It "comes nearer, he explains, than any other one to the original manuscript of Tansillo"²⁵ This would of course carry much weight, had the manuscript been known to Southwell. But as a matter of fact, everything points the contrary way. From 1568 to 1585, Attendolo, according to his own statement, had the original of the poem in his possession; and no doubt he retained it

²³ It may seem surprising that the shorter and earlier version of the *Complaint* should contain fewer reminiscences of the *Lagime* than the fuller and later one (only st. 1 and 2 respectively recall st. 16, 21, 22 and st. 1 of the "Pucci" *Lagime*). Possibly the poet began with the purely meditative stanzas, in which remorseful thought is expressed most nakedly, and left aside, for the time being, the images and conceits which he was afterwards to borrow from Tansillo. Or again the compiler of a manuscript collection of Catholic poetry picked out from the first draft the twelve stanzas which suited his taste best, and which alone have come down to us. It should be noted that in a collection of the kind, *Peter Mowles Commonplace Book* (Oscott College Library) the order of the stanzas of the *Complaint* has been considerably altered.

²⁴ *Modern language review*, vol. xix, p. 286.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 274.

long after, since the version that he recast was published as the standard text as late as 1599. It is true that the whole of the Pucci fragment, which Southwell translated exactly, is embodied word for word in the 1606 edition; the inference, however, is not that the Jesuit knew Tansillo's manuscript, but that the "Pucci" volume, though pirated, was trustworthy. If Southwell knew more of the *Lagrima* than the sample of the work printed in 1560, it must have been, as we have said, from the 1585 edition, and no other.

If we now turn to the quotations themselves, a general remark must be premised. Mere likeness in regard to themes or ideas is not proof positive of direct influence, where inspiration may have been derived from a common source. This is undoubtedly the case for religious poems, in which the matter is borrowed from Scripture or from glosses on Scripture. In such cases, to establish literary descent, something more than a mere analogy is necessary: the later text ought to reproduce some characteristic turn of thought or expression of the earlier one. Now the instances quoted by professor Mario Praz do not all of them comply with these requirements to the same extent. Those which refer to parts of the *Lagrima* other than the "Pucci" fragment are very far from convincing. The story of Peter's remorse would be sure to suggest to both poets independently the happenings of the previous night, the Garden of olives, and the apostle's sleep; the latter's lack of faith would naturally enough recall the resurrection of Lazarus, which ought to have bound him to Christ;²⁷ the fact that Peter gave way not to "tyrants bloody thretts," but to "mayden's breath," was an unavoidable subject for meditation;²⁸ and no writer would have left the theme without an allusion to the titles given by Christ to his disciple, when he called him "a chosen rock" and the "cheife pastour."²⁹ The denunciation of women as the instruments of temptation was indeed a hackneyed theme,³⁰ and as for the line:

An earnest friend while pleasure's light did shine,³¹

it must have been suggested, not by Tansillo, but by Ovid's words, well-known to Southwell:

Donec eris felix, multos numerabis amicos...

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 283, quoting *Complaint* (GROSART), st. xxxii and *Lagrima*, 1606 ed., iii, st. 39.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 286, quoting same works, st. C and x, 50-51 respectively.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 280-281, quoting *Complaint*, early version, st. iii-iv; *Lagrima*, same ed., iv, st. 22 and ii, st. 21, 45, 44.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 281, quoting *Complaint*, early version, st. iv; *Lagrima*, same ed., ii, st. 48-49.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 284; quoting *Complaint* (GROSART) st. liv; *Lagrima*, same ed ix, st. 90-91.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 283, quoting *Complaint* (GROSART) st. xxxi.

In each one of these cases, and in a few more, the reappearance of the same subject-matter is in itself inconclusive; while the wording is so different that it brings no confirmation of the suggested likeness.

But should one be tempted to consider such points of similitude as important in themselves, there is further reason to think that Southwell never set his eyes on the expanded *Lagrime*. Had he done so, he would certainly have been tempted to follow in the same tracks as Tansillo, and compose a poem in the epic style, worthy of his own religious ideal. He did, in fact, show his readiness to reproduce the scriptural frescoes of the Italian poet, when he quite unmistakably imitated a passage of the "Pucci" text on the Holy Innocents, in the second and third stanzas of the *Flight into Egypt*. It will be enough to quote a few lines of the original :

...perche non eran'atti...
A trar dal petto intelligibil uoce;
Lasciando aprir le pargolette gole,
Gli dieder sangue in uece di parole.³²

and of the English adaptation, which is characteristically briefer :

With open throates and silent mouthes you singe
His praise, Whome age permitts you not to name...³³

Now if Southwell was so ready to follow up such a hint, he would not have ignored the whole of the descriptive parts of the longer *Lagrime*. Professor Mario Praz himself is struck by the fact that "almost all the... passages in the Italian poem" imitated by Southwell "consist of direct speeches by St Peter, whereas the narrative parts were either unknown or, more likely, utterly disregarded by the English poet."³⁴ One cannot really imagine that the Jesuit carefully picked out a few stanzas of a certain type and paid no heed whatsoever to the others. At the same time, it cannot be reasonably doubted that he knew the 1560 text and imitated it in some twenty cases, of which the following are the most notable instances :

Come falda di neue, cha agghiata
Il verno in chiusa ualle, ascosa giacque;
A primauera poi dal sol scaldata,
Tutta si sface; se discioglie in acque;
Cosi la tema, ch'entro al cor gelata
Era di Pietro allhor, che'l uero tacque,
Quando Christo ver lui gli occhi riuolse;
Tutta si sefece, e'n pianto si disciolse.³⁵

These blazing comets, light'ning flames of loue,
Made me their warming influence to knowe;
My frozen hart their sacred force did proue,
Which at their looks did yeeld like melting snowe...³⁶

³² *Lagrime*, "Pucci" ed., f. 46b.

³³ *Complete poems*, GROSART'S ed., p. 134.

³⁴ *Modern language review*, vol. XIX, p. 287.

³⁵ *Lagrime*, "Pucci" ed., f. 44b.

³⁶ *Complete works*, GROSART'S ed., p. 26, st. LXI.

De la sua vita tutto il rimanente,
Non fu mai notte; che ei non si destasse,
Vdendo il gallo, à dir quanto fù iniquo;
Dando lagrime noue al fallo antiquo.³⁷

Orme odorate... uoi seguendo il uarco
Mi diede, e fece là, doue altri affonda,
Indurir soto il piè la liquida onda.³⁹

O bird ! the iust rebuker of my crime,
The faithfull waker of my sleeping feares,
Be now the daily clocke to strike the time,
When stinted eyes shall pay their taske of teares;
Vpbraide mine eares with thine accusing crowe,
To make me rew that first it made me knowe.³⁸

Why did the yeelding sea, like marble way,
Support a wretch more wauering than the waues ?⁴⁰

* * * * *

While the above comparison, and others, bring out numerous points of likeness between the *Lagrime* and the *Complaint*, Tansillo's influence upon Southwell is none less limited in its nature. The true character of the Italian poem, its good-natured, easy-flowing, not over-nice garrulity, remained foreign to him; he merely turned to his own use its most artificial elements, its conceits and imagery. There seems to have been little in common between Southwell's personality and that of Tansillo. On the other hand, there was an Italian poet whose temper was bound to attract the Jesuit's sympathy. Petrarch's expression of earthly love was so spiritual, so mystical even, that it was almost akin to Southwell's love of God. The former's partiality for the exact adaptation of his feelings to the narrow frame of the sonnet, tallied with the latter's own taste for accurate, concise and packed thought. Now there it proof that Southwell knew and liked Petrarch. One of the poems printed together with *Saint Peter's Complaint, What joy to live*, is an instance of the usual embroidery on "love" and "life"; but the first four lines are none too well connected with what follows, and the poet rather unconvincingly tries to make them fit in with his main thought. In fact they are a translation of the first quatrain of one of the sonnets in which Laura is besought to take pity on her lover, whose wretched condition is thus described :

Pace non trovo, e non ho da far guerra;
E temo e spero, ed ardo, e son un ghiaccio;
E volo sopra'l cielo, e giaccio in terra;
E nulla stringo, e tutto'l mondo abbraccio.⁴¹

³⁷ *Lagrime*, 1560 ed., f. 44b.

³⁸ *Complete poems*, Grosart's ed., p. 22, st. XLV.

³⁹ *Lagrime*, 1560 ed., f. 49a.

⁴⁰ *Complete works*, GROSART's ed., p. 17, st. XXIV.

⁴¹ *Rime di Francesco Petrarca*, ed. by Giacomo LEOPARDI, Firenze 1867, p. 131, sonnetto XC.

Southwell's rendering may be praised for its faithfulness :

I wage no war, yet peace I none enjoy;
 I hope, I feare, I fry in freesing colde;
 I mount in mirth, still prostate in annoye;
 I all the worlde imbrace yet nothing holde. ⁴²

This seems indeed to be one of the cases in which the Jesuit, having first, while at Rome, tried his hand at the translation of various Italian poets, later made use of his early attempts for the edification of his countrymen. In any case we now understand why some features of the *Complaint*, though bespeaking an Italian source, are not to be accounted for by the influence of the *Lagrima*. Thus while in the latter, Jesus' glance towards Peter is only alluded to in a narrative fashion, in the course of five stanzas, in the *Complaint* the apostle directly apostrophizes the Lord's eyes in no fewer than fourteen stanzas. ⁴³ Not only is Southwell's treatment of the theme ampler, but his mood is wholly different from that of Tansillo. On the other hand, the lofty words in which Peter addresses Christ's "sacred eyes," "flames divine," "blazing comets," "sunnes," forcibly remind one of such passages as the following, in which Petrarch rapturously extols the beauties of Laura :

Non fur giammai veduti si begli occhi
 O nella nostra etade o ne' prim' anni;
 Che mi struggon cosî come'l sol neve... ⁴⁴

Lumi del ciel; per li quali io ringrazio
 La vita che per altro non m'è a grado... ⁴⁵

Ma voi, occhi beati...

Poi che vostro vedere in me risplende,
 Come raggio di Sol traluce in vetro... ⁴⁶

Compare with the above these lines of the *Complaint* :

These blazing comets, light'ning flames of loue,
 Made me their warming influence to knowe;
 My frozen heart their sacred force did proue,
 Which at their looks did yeeld like melting snowe... ⁴⁷

O sunnes ! all but yourselves in light excelling,
 Whose presence, day, whose absence causeth night;
 Whose neighbour-course brings Summer, cold expelling,
 Whose distant periods freeze away delight... ⁴⁸

⁴² *Complete poems*, GROSART'S, ed., p. 86.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 25-28, stanzas LVI-LXIX.

⁴⁴ *Rime di Francesco Petrarca*, Sestina II, p. 31.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 71, canzone VI.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 96, Sonnetto LXIV.

⁴⁷ *Complete poems*, GROSART'S ed., p. 26, *Complaint*, st. LXI.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 27, st. LXVII.

In the present instance, the likeness is unmistakable. Of course some of the features of Petrarch's amorous poetry are so generally met with in the love lyrics of all ages, that their reappearance in the *Complaint* or in the pieces printed along with it warrants no definite conclusion as to Southwell's source. The love poets of the Elizabethan era, whom the Jesuit, as we shall see, closely imitated, indulged, no less than Petrarch, in fits of tearfulness⁴⁹; like him, they were tossed about by alternate outbursts of frantic devotion and despondent remorse, nature around them responding to their varying moods⁵⁰; like him, they found a sweetness in solitary dreaming.⁵¹ They used the same hackneyed images. The following line in the *Complaint*, addressed to Christ's eyes,

You graceful quivers of loue's dearest darts...⁵²

reminds one of many passages in Petrarch's sonnets, it is true ; but it is paralleled in the *Lagrime* also, and in numberless English poems. Southwell and his contemporaries were both drawing water at the same well-head, though their purposes were different, when likening the agitated condition of their souls to that of a ship on a billowy sea. The first two stanzas of the *Complaint* are taken up with a simile of the kind ; but the same comparison, worked out in elaborate detail, had long before appeared in one of Petrarch's sonnets. Here the various parts of an imaginary boat are described :

al governo

Siede'l signor, anzi 'l nemico mio.
A ciascun remo un pensier pronto e rio...
La vela rompe un vento umido eterno
Di sospir, di speranze e di desio...⁵³

Southwell improved upon this, but the spirit remains the same :

Torn sailes will serue, thoughts rent with guilty feares :
Giue Care the sterne, vse sighs in lieu of wind :
Remorse, thy pilot ; thy misdeede thy card...⁵⁴

At the same time, it seems uncertain whether the Jesuit derived inspiration from Petrarch directly, or from one of Petrarch's followers ; for

⁴⁹ Cf. *Rime di Francesco Petrarca*, p. 16, sonnet XIV; p. 190, sonnet CLXI.

⁵⁰ *Rime di Francesco Petrarca*, *passim*, and p. 5, sonnetto I; p. 309, sonnetto LXXXV, which suggest the theme of remorse in Southwell's poems.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 127, canzone XIII; cf. *Joseph's amazement*, *Complete poems*, GROSART'S ed., p. 124.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 25, st. LIX.

⁵³ *Rime di Francesco Petrarca*, p. 168, sonnetto CXXXVII.

⁵⁴ *Complete poems*, GROSART'S ed., p. 11, st. I.

his nautical allegory is paralleled, not once, but repeatedly, in the works of the English poets of the generation which preceded him or his own generation. Petrarch's sonnet had been translated by Wyatt⁵⁵ and among the poems of uncertain authors printed in *Tottel's Miscellany* (1557), the same theme occurs again in words almost similar to those quoted above :

The woful shyppes of carefull sprite,
Fletyng on seas of wellyng teares,
With sayles of wishes broken quite,
Hangyng on waues of dolefull feares,
By surge of sighes at wrecke nere hand,
May fast no anker holde on land.⁵⁶

Instances of strikingly like sort are found at a later date, in the *Phoenix Nest*, published in 1593.⁵⁷

It would be a difficult task, and one implying endless research, to unravel every thread of Italian influence upon Southwell, and follow it up to its origin. That he owed no less in this respect to the general atmosphere of the period than to the models he directly imitated is of course a truism. But whoever these models may have been, one fact is clear; he did not allow his own personality to be smothered by theirs. What they brought to him was sifted with care, and only congenial elements were retained. In his verse as in his prose, he rejected the colour and exuberance of the South; Italian poetry was only acceptable to him in so far as it was refined, terse and tenderly delicate; and his fondness for Petrarch matches — all differences being duly allowed for — his partiality for Ovid.

* * * * *

Southwell's Italianism, therefore, is not of a kind with that of his younger contemporaries — the generation of Marlowe and Shakespeare; it rather links him up with an older school of poetry, whose productions are found in the miscellanies printed from the fifties to the eighties of the sixteenth century — a period to which *Saint Peters complaint* and the more "Euphuistic" poems very definitely belong. Of the pastoral there is no trace in Southwell's poems, this being further proof that he was unacquainted with the larger *Lagrime*, where Christianized shepherds play a by no means negligible part. The works of

⁵⁵ *The poems of Sir Thomas Wyatt*, ed. by A. K. Foxwell, London 1913, vol. 1, p. 26, sonnet 14.

⁵⁶ *Tottel's Miscellany*, ARBER's reprint, 1870, p. 155.

⁵⁷ *The Phoenix Nest*, reprinted by Hugh Macdonald (The Haslewood books), London 1926, pp. 65 and 71.

Sidney and Spenser were either unknown, or, more likely, uncongenial to him : while, on the other hand, he shows great partiality for the epigrammatic preciosity of an earlier age. Therefore the study of the *Complaint* is largely a study of the conceitist style in English lyrical poetry. We shall, not, however, launch upon an inquiry into the nature of the conceit ; but merely make a distinction between what may be called its internal and external aspects. The former is found in the image itself which is used to express the idea ; the latter in the stylistic, rhetorical or metrical means which are used to give it greater force and piquancy. Now in regard to the former aspect of the conceit, it is obvious that Southwell had a large number of original images at his disposal, and that his descriptions are in many places both apt and psychologically true. Nevertheless, there is that same far-fetched quality about his similes, which is met with in slightly earlier lyrics, and he actually drew, more than once, upon that common store of strained comparisons which had been the stock-in-trade of sixteenth century love poets. Such is the case for the allegorical trial which we find in the *Complaint*, in which Southwell, using the technical language of the law courts, brings in Peter's various feelings, Love being foremost, to plead against one another. Petrarch himself had summoned Love to appear before the mistress of his heart, and lengthily defended his own cause.⁵⁸ Wyatt later translated his "canzone".⁵⁹ Gascoigne, who seems to have set some of the fashions which Southwell followed, handled the same theme in no fewer than nine six-line stanzas, in the lyric entitled *The arraignment of a lover*, which begins with the words :

At Beautyes barre as I did stande...⁶⁰

In the *Complaint*, it appears again in a somewhat altered form, characteristically compressed within the space of six lines, though worked out in detail :

Yet loue was loath to part, feare loath to die ;
 Stay, danger, life, did counterplead their causes ;
 I, fauouring stay and life, bad danger flie,
 But danger did except against these clauses :
 Yet stay and liue I would, and danger shunne,
 And lost myselfe while I my verdict wonne.⁶¹

In most of these image conceits, we find that fondness for over-analysis, for the dissection of the object described, whether concrete or abs-

⁵⁸ *The poems of Sir Thomas Wyatt*, ed. by A. K. FOXWELL, vol. II, pp. 83 and 208 (text of the Canzone).

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 67, *Love's Arraignment*.

⁶⁰ *The complete works of George Gascoigne*, ed. by John W. CUNLIFFE, Cambridge 1907, p. 38.

⁶¹ *Complete poems*, GROSART's ed., p. 20, st. XXXVII.

tract, which may have been natural in one gifted, as Southwell was, for the perception of minute detail, but which nevertheless had been introduced into English literature long before him. One can hardly fail to notice the likeness between Gascoigne's coarsely graphic *Anatomye of a lover*, and the few stanzas in the *Complaint* which more spiritually describe "th'anatomie of sinne."⁶² In the former

every part shall playe his part, to paint the panges of love,⁶³

and the lover's head, locks, cheeks, shoulders, limbs, heart, are described in succession, in the homely, easy-running, rather loosely-jointed style of the author. St Peter expresses himself almost in the same words :

All things characters are to spell my fall⁶⁴...

but Southwell's own use of the theme is of course more skilful, more epigrammatic, wittier, more in keeping with his sense of the stanza as a structural whole :

My eye, reades mournfull lessons to my hart,
My hart, doth to my thought the greefes expound ;
My thought, the same doth to my tongue impart,
My tongue, the message in the eares doth sound ;
My eares, back to my hart their sorrowes send ;
Thus circling griefes runne round without and end⁶⁵.

In the present case, however, what we find is not the analysis of the contents of an intellectual notion, but merely a catalogue of the various parts of a materiel object. Southwell's skill in taking an idea to pieces is better revealed in the "definition stanza," which has been studied in a previous chapter. In such a stanza, each aspect of the reality denoted by a given abstract term is taken up and illustrated in its turn. But here again the Jesuit, though he may have improved upon his forerunners, was merely following in their footsteps. This will frequently appear when running one's eye through the pages of the *Miscellanies*. Take the beginning of an unsigned poem in the *Phoenix Nest*, entitled *The description of Iealousie* :

A seeing friend, yet enimie to rest,
A wrangling passion, yet a gladsom thought,
A bad companion, yet a welcome guest,
A knowledge wisht, yet found too soone vnsought,
From heauen supposde, yet sure condemn'd to hell,
Is Iealousie, and there forlorne doth dwell.⁶

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 38, st. CXI.

⁶³ *Complete works of George Gascoigne*, p. 37.

⁶⁴ *Complete poems*, GROSART'S ed., p. 39, st. CXIV.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 39, st. CXIII.

⁶⁶ *The Phoenix Nest*, ed. cit. p. 91.

Compare the above lines with any one of the fifteen "definition stanzas" in the *Complaint*, several of which have been quoted above ⁶⁷; and it will be clear, from the likeness in the inspiration and craftsmanship, that here again Southwell was following the Jesuit plan of imitation.

* * * * *

It must by now be clear, from the above quotations, that both in the works of Southwell's models and in his own, there is a sustained effort to set the thought in high relief by rhetorical means. The Jesuit makes an almost constant use of antithesis, which may have been suggested by such lines of Petrarch as :

O viva morte, o diletto male,⁶⁸

or

Dolci durezza e placide repulse⁶⁹

These are paralleled in the *Complaint*, as in the following instance :

I, though too hard, learn'd softnes in Thine eye...⁷⁰

or better still, on a more elaborate pattern :

Vnkind in kindnesse, murdering while it saues...⁷¹

One might provide endless quotations from the same poem, showing that Southwell uses every form of parallelism, in sound as well as in thought ; whether two terms only are paired, or a more complicated arrangement, direct or reversed, is introduced. Whatever has been said about the Jesuit's early prose might be repeated in regard to his early lyrics, except that now the ample sweep of the sentence is destroyed ; the contrasts brought in are perforce bound by the limits of the line, or of two lines at most ; and the compression of the ideas, which are broken up into detached, independent elements, produces a jerky effect, which after a time grows extremely tiresome.

In those endlessly repeated feats of verbal jugglery, satisfaction may be provided either for the ear, or for the eye; the poet's purpose may be musical, or structural ; now he aims at pleasing the taste for symmetry ever-present in man's mind, or at any rate, he offers the same sort of semi-intellectual enjoyment that is supplied by the reappearance of the theme in a fugue ; and now, by introducing recurrent words in successive lines, especially when arranging them in a sort of canon, he

⁶⁷ Cf. above, Chapter VI.

⁶⁸ *Rime di Francesco Petrarca*, ed. cit. p. 130, sonnetto LXXXVIII.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 310, sonnetto LXXXVI.

⁷⁰ *Complete poems*, GROSART'S ed., p. 27, st. LXVI.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 17, st. XXIV.

produces a haunting and softly thrilling impression. In the development of sixteenth century lyrical poetry, it seems as if music for music's sake had gradually been supplanted by wit for wit's sake. The courtly poets of the earlier generation, up to the first few years of Elizabeth's reign, were mainly concerned with melodiousness; their successors found more satisfaction in turning their compositions into "garden plots," with skilfully contrived lawns, arbours and mazes. Gascoigne belonged to the former school; and there is a distinct musical quality about one of his *Flowers* where the canon appears :

Thus in thy lookes my love and life have hold,
And with such life my death drawes on a pace ;
And for such death no medcine can be told...⁷²

But at a later period, the easy, harmonious flow of the line makes way for strait preciseness ; and when next we find a kindred device in the *Phoenix Next*, it is used less spontaneously, in a more regular, more artificial way :

Those eies that holds the hand of every hart,
Those hands that holds the hart of every eie,
That wit that goes beyond all natures Art,
That sence too deepe, for wisdome to discrie,
That eie, that hand, that wit, that heavenly sence,
All these doth show my Mistres Excellence.⁷³

Lastly, in one of Raleigh's poems (though relative dates are not easily ascertained) a trick of the same kind appears in an exaggerated and wholly artificial form :

Her face, her tongue, her wit, so fair, so sweet, so sharp,
First bent, then drew, now hit, mine eye, mine ear, my heart :
Mine eye, mine ear, my heart, to like, to learn, to love,
Her face, her tongue, her wit, doth lead, doth teach, doth
[move :
Her face, her tongue, her wit, with beams, with sound, with art,
Doth blind, doth charm, doth rule, mine eye, mine ear, my
[heart...⁷⁴

Southwell, as we have seen, was in a favourable position to know the works both of the earlier and the later school of courtly poets ; and he derived inspiration from both. The former was more congenial to his innate sense of music, while his imitation of the latter was more in

⁷² *Complete works of George Gascoigne*, ed. by John W. CUNLIFFE, vol. 1, p. 46.

⁷³ *Phoenix Nest*, ed. by Hugh MACDONALD, p. 74.

⁷⁴ *The poems of Sir Walter Raleigh...* ed. by J. HANNAH, London 1885, pp. 15-16.

keeping with his adherence to the Jesuit plan. Therefore, though his harmonies are generally more subtle than in the above lines of contemporary poets, and produced by means less crudely visible, he nevertheless more than once took tracings of the current effects of verbal repetition. Several instances of this have already been quoted, in this or in previous chapters, such as the stanza on the "anatomie of sinne." Another case in point may be mentioned here. The falls of David, Solomon and Samson, St Peter says in the *Complaint*, had "Some shew of pretence" :

The blaze of beautie's beames allur'd their lookes;
 Their lookes, by seeing oft, conceiued loue ;
 Loue, by affecting, swallowed pleasure's hookes ;
 Thus beautie, loue, and pleasure, them did moue...⁷⁵

That Southwell either had recourse to conscious imitation in many cases, or probably that he, like most writers, wore the literary costume of his own period, has now been proved up to the hilt. Let us therefore turn to his deeper qualities, and removing the veil of artificiality, gaze at the beautiful statue underneath.

* * * * *

Before we come to what, in Southwell's poems, appeals to the reader's artistic or religious emotions, we must notice that he excelled his contemporaries in that very exactness and subtlety of psychological or intellectual analysis on which they mostly prided themselves. To this must be added the accuracy of his observation and description of fact, which is revealed, for instance, in the following stanza. Having enlarged upon the blessings of sleep, St Peter turns to the dreams of the sinner :

Not such my sleepe, but whisperer of dreames,
 Creating strange chymeras, fayning frights ;
 Of day-discourses giving fansie theames,
 To make dum-shewes with worlds of anticke sights ;
 Casting true griefes in fansie's forging mold,
 Brokenly telling tales rightly foretold.⁷⁶

It would be hard to crowd more matter, to suggest more reflections and images, in so very few words. Such concentration is one of the Jesuit's foremost qualities. Occasionally it overreaches itself, and loses in clearness what it gains in power. The synthetic character of Southwell's thought appears almost in every stanza of the *Complaint*. In one

⁷⁵ *Complete poems*, GROSART'S ed., p. 24, st. LII.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 41, st. CXXII.

of the "definition" passages, St Peter addresses "evill president" (evil precedent or example) in these words :

Euill president !.....

The doing tale that eye in practise reides,
Taster of joyes to unacquainted hunger....⁷⁷

In these two lines, which are no exception, various synthetic forms such as a compound word (doing-tale), a noun denoting action (taster), a past participle used absolutely and elliptically (unacquainted), are substituted for fully expanded relative clauses. It is not, however, to the sober solidity of the reflective passages that *Saint Peters complaint* owes its penetrating charm, but to its irrepressible lyricism. Now no poem can be truly lyrical if it be not true ; and the essential quality of Southwell's main piece of verse is that it is intensely and entirely true, despite any appearance to the contrary. The artificiality of a writer's style readily lends itself to critical study, and therefore assumes undue importance ; and one is apt to neglect the deep poetical reality which it thinly overlays. Such is the case for Southwell's lyric of remorse ; but once one has got sufficiently accustomed to the quaint literary dress of the period, the pathetic human character of the poem forcibly manifests itself. To be felt, however, it needs a sympathy on the part of the reader, which can only be engendered by similar experiences ; and just as amorous verse has sense only for him who has been in love, the *Complaint* will appeal to those only who, in lesser numbers no doubt, have felt the full force of devotion to God : a state of feeling which demands more of man than any human affection, and therefore lends itself to poetical expression of extreme intensity. In the case of Southwell, this expression naturally assumes the shape of images. Some of these indeed, are either trite or strained, but most of them are perfectly natural and true, being borrowed from the great storehouse of human spiritual experience — the Bible.

Here again we might rehearse the remarks previously made in regard to the Latin devotions and to the early prose works. Among the pictures supplied in endless number by the Old and New Testaments, Southwell selects those which are gently moving, which bring sweetness to the heart rather than awe. Once more he reverts to the forlorn condition of Agar :

Poore Agar from her pheere enforc't to flye,
Wandring in Bersabeian wildes alone,
Doubting her child throgh helples drought would die,
Layd it aloofe, and set her downe to moane :
The heauens with prayers, her lap with tears she fild ;
A mother's loue in losse is hardly stild.⁷⁸

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 21, st. LX.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 21, st. XL.

The last two lines, with their sententious cut and their rhyme, break up the graceful, melancholy flow of the preceding quatrain ; yet the stanza is almost perfect in its melodious expression of sadness, its felicitous placing of long syllables, in which the sound is dwelt on as in a lament. The same might be said of the stanza in which Southwell turns to effective poetical use the fanciful natural history of the time :

Like solest swan, that swims in silent deepe,
And neuer sings but obsequies of death;
Sigh out thy plaints, and sole in secret weepe,
In suing pardon, spend thy periur'd breath ;
Attire thy soul in sorrowe's mourning weede,
And at thine eyes let guiltie conscience bleede.⁷⁹

The art of the literary craftsman, the poet's musical instinct, here reach their highest point. It is clear, however, that Southwell had the Bible harmonies to guide him, as is shown by his especial fondness for the *Canticum Canticorum*, the mellow tenderness of which is pleasing to his loving heart. He makes use of its images, which in his hands lose in telling simplicity, but gain in delicate prettiness :

O pooles of Hesebon; the baths of grace,
Where happie spirits diue in sweet desires,
Where saints reioyce to glasse their glorious face,
Whose banks make eccho to the angel's quires...⁸⁰

or again, in a slightly less tasteful vein :

O turtle-twins ! All bath'd in virgins milke,
Vpon the margin of full-flowing banks...⁸¹

It would be misleading, however, merely to insist on the gentler side of Southwell's poetical personality. When he comes to the sting of remorse, to Peter's loathing of his own crime, he is equal to the expression of darker, more gloomily powerful feelings. The following lines are adapted from the *Lagrima*, yet they are much stronger in their suggestion of self-contempt :

All weeping eyes resigne your teares to me,
A sea will scantly rinse my ordur'd soule ;
Huge honours in high tides must drownèd be :
Of euery teare my crime exacteth tole....⁸²

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 30, st. LXXVI

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 27, st. LXIV.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 29, st. LXXIII.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 13, st. VIII.

A touch of epic majesty appears in the words in which the "devils" gloat upon Peter's fall :

Our rocke (say they) is riven ; O welcome howre !
 Our eagle's wings are clipt that wrought so hie ;
 Our thundring cloude made noyse, but cast no showre :
 He prostrate lies that would haue scal'd the skie...⁸³

There is, of course, a steady progress in the successive parts of the poem, and it seems as if, when Southwell moved on from Peter's denunciation of himself to the hope of forgiveness obtained from Christ's love, his powers had risen with his feelings. In the last stanzas of the poem, exactness in the expression of thought and metrical skill, unwavering constancy and tender, trustful emotion, are so blended, as to make up an almost perfect whole. We cannot refrain from quoting the following dialogue, in which the poet's ingenuity is not destructive of pathos :

At Sorrowe's door I knockt : they crau'd my name :
 I answered, one unworthy to be knowne :
 What one ? say they. One worthiest of blame.
 But who ? A wretch, not God's, nor yet his owne.
 A man ? Oh no ! a beast ; much worse : what creature ?
 A rocke : how call'd ? The rocke of scandale, Peter !⁸⁴

Lastly, part of the concluding stanzas, — the whole of which is very fine — must be reproduced here. Nothing can be more touching than the humble, yet confident, childlike way in which Peter, or rather Southwell himself, lays his sorrows in Jesus' bosom :

A worthless worme some mild regard may winne,
 And lowly creepe, where flying threw it downe.
 A poore desire I have to mend my ill,
 I should, I would, I dare not say, I will.
 I dare not say, I will, but wish I may ;
 My pride is checkt, high words the speaker spilt.
 My good, O Lord, Thy gift, Thy strength my stay !
 Give what Thou bidst, and then bid what thou wilt...
 With mildnes, Iesu, measure mine offence ;
 Let true remorse Thy due reuenge abate ;
 Let teares appease when trespassse doth incense ;
 Let pittie temper Thy deserved hate ;

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 36, st. ciii.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 40, st. cxviii.

Let grace forgive, let loue forget my fall :
With feare I craue, with hope I humblie call.

Let frailtie favour, sorrowes succour moue,
Be thou Thyself, though changeling I offend....⁸⁵

This last touch, which recalls the "Sis pater" of the Latin lament of the Prodigal son, is a suitable ending for our quotations from the *Complaint*. From beginning to end Peter voices Southwell's own feelings, and his words sound utterly sincere. Therefore the title of the present chapter explains itself. That the Jesuit was, to start with, an adept of that conceitist school which he was later to discard, has been sufficiently proved. But from the first also he was his own true self. His piety and devotion, his hatred of sin and love of Christ, his strength in humbleness, showed through the coating of an artificial style ; and therein lay the reason of his greatness as a lyrical poet.

⁸⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 42-44, st. CXXVII, CXXVIII, CXXXI, CXXXII.

CHAPTER IX

FROM ANCIENT WISDOM TO CHRISTIAN FORTITUDE : THE LATER PROSE WORKS

In the study of Southwell's later prose works, we shall leave aside such features as have already been dwelt upon, and focus our attention upon their novel elements, such as their historical interest or their classical character. From the first indeed, the Jesuit's writing had been distinguished for soberness and restraint; but the romantic lyricism of many parts of Scripture had gained the upper hand in the *Epistle of Comfort*. Now however, in the later prose works, we revert to quiet conciseness. There is indeed something new about the structure of Southwell's *Epistle to his father* and the *Triumphs over death*, in which both the thought and the form are cut up into paragraphs; while the two prose compositions, the *Humble supplication to her Maiestie*, and the *Short rule of good life*, are penned in a direct and forcible style that answers their practical purpose, and has an earnest beauty of its own; but even in these the influence of the classics remains an important one.

The earliest one in date of the above pieces, which we shall consider to begin with, is the *Epistle* by means of which Southwell tried to win his father back to Catholicism. He had previously written for the same purpose a brief *Letter to his brother*. Along with these two, a recent editor of some of his prose works has published what he calls "Robert Southwell's letter to his cousin W. R., printed for the first time from the only known manuscript in which it is preserved, that is, British Museum MS. Additional 10,422".¹ But why he ascribes this document to the Jesuit we entirely fail to see. The fact that it is found side by side with his poems in one of those collections of Catholic literature which were privately circulated in times of persecution supplies no clue as to its authorship. It is headed "A letter written by P. B. to his coosyn W. R."; now certainly the compiler would have called Southwell by his own name or initials, were it but in order to glorify a martyr. Lastly, the style, which is an uncouth and servile imitation of out-and-out Euphuism, bears no likeness whatsoever even to that of Southwell's juvenilia. The ascription should therefore be rejected once for all.

¹ *The triumphs over death etc.*, ed. by John William TROTMAN, London 1914, p. 68.

Southwell's *Letter to his brother* is, in more senses than one, the preface to his *Epistle* to his father. It was certainly written before, and looks like the Jesuit's first trial of the particular literary form which we have described above. It is not yet free from mechanical mannerisms as the following paragraphs will show :

"Shrine not any longer a dead soul in a living body; bail reason out of senses' prison; that after so long a bondage in sin you may enjoy your former liberty in God's church and free your thoughts from the servile awe of uncertain perils."²

"If to-day you find yourself faint, fainter are you like to be to-morrow; sith you languish in the same disease without cure and suffer the corrosive of sin to consume you without laying the implaster."³

The *Letter* is, however, sincere and moving; but it pales beside the *Epistle*, which owes much of its grave and solemn beauty to the fear of impending death which hangs over it. To begin with, Southwell apologizes to his father for not yet having, since his return to England, complied with the obligations of filial affection, and called upon him; but he knew that his visit would be unwelcome and would bring danger to him, and has therefore resolved to have recourse to safer means of communication, and to write to him instead. He has been moved to do so by his sense of his spiritual duty as a child, natural affection being strengthened by religion. Since he is bound to pity his enemies in their distress, how much more so those whom he loves ! To be compelled to withhold from these the help which his priesthood enabled him to bring to strangers, has long been to him a standing grief. Now it may seem presumptuous on the part of one so young to assume the position of a guide to his elders; but Scripture proves that youth is no bar to this, and besides all men are brothers before God. Southwell's trade, which is that of a spiritual doctor, is of equal dignity with others. What is more, his religious fatherhood places him above his own father. Were you not, he says to the latter, "from my infancy.....wont in merriment to call me Father Robert, which is the customary style now allotted to my present estate ?"⁴

The Jesuit now begins to warn his father gravely and almost sternly of the spiritual danger he has fallen into by becoming a "schismatic," in order to attend to his temporal interests. Do not forget, he says to him, that you are old, and cannot live long. Your age ought to be wise. You know that you cannot now serve the world. "Remember I pray you that your spring is spent and your summer overpast; you are now arrived to the fall of leaf; yea, and winter colours have already

² *Ibid*, p. 64, § 3.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 65, § 9.

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 43, § 27.

stained your hoary head." God's patience in so long expecting is only to lend us respite to repent, not any way to enlarge our leisure to sin."⁵ Our life should be devoted to God from beginning to end; and contrition should not be reserved for its last few moments : "Be not you therefore of those that begin not to live until they be ready to die; and then, after a foe's deserts, come to crave of God a friend's entertainment."⁶ A deathbed repentance is valueless if it be moved but by fear of hell and self-love.

"Wherefore, Good Sir, make no longer delay; but being so near the breaking up of your mortal house, take time before extremity to satisfy God's justice. Though you suffered the bud to be blasted and the flower to fade; though you permitted the fruit to be perished and the leaves to dry up; yea, though you let the boughs wither and the body of your tree grow to decay; yet alas ! Keep life in the root, for fear lest the whole become fuel for hell-fire. For surely, wheresoever the tree falleth there shall it be; wether it be to south or north — heaven or hell — and such sap as it bringeth, such fruit shall it ever bear."

* * * * *

From now on, the sequence of the thought becomes less connectedly logical. Southwell again and again entreats his father to bethink himself before it be too late. He pictures to him his last moments and his appearance before God in sombre, realistic colours : "If you were laid in your departing-bed, burdened with the heavy load of your former trespasses, and gored with the sting and prick of a festered conscience; if you felt the cramp of death wresting your heart-strings and ready to make the rueful divorce between body and soul; if you lay panting for breath and swimming in a cold and fatal sweat, wearied with struggling against your deadly pangs; O how much would you give for one hour of repentance ! At what rate would you value one day's contrition...

"How inconsolable were your case : your friends being fled, your senses frightened, your thoughts amazed, your memory decayed, your whole mind aghast, and no part able to perform that it should; but only your guilty conscience, pestered with sin, that would continually upbraid you with most bitter accusations.

"What would you think when, stripped out of your mortal weed and turned both out of the service and house-room of this world, you were forced to enter into uncouth and strange paths, and with unknown and ugly company to be convented before a most severe judge; carrying in

⁵ *Ibid*, p. 45, § 36.

⁶ *Ibid*, p. 47, § 44.

your own conscience your indictment written and a perfect register of all your misdeeds.”⁷ The punishment in store for those who do not mend their ways in time, is terrible. There is not one moment to be lost : “They that will loiter in seed-time and begin only to sow when others reap; they that will riot out their health and cast their accounts when they can scarcely speak; they that will slumber out the day and enter their journey when the light doth fail them; let them blame their own folly if they die in debt and eternal beggars and fall headlong into the lapse of endless perdition.”⁸

The exhortation ends up with an even more beautiful simile, all aglow with the sweet, clear light shed around itself by a soul of perfect purity : “However therefore the soft gales of your morning pleasures lulled you in slumbry fits; howsoever the violent heats of noon might awake affections; yet now, in the cool and calm of the evening, retire to a Christian rest and close up the day of your life with a clear sunset; that leaving all darkness behind you and carrying in your conscience the light of grace, you may escape the horror of eternal night, and pass from a mortal day to an everlasting morrow.”⁹

The calm and peace of sunset ! The light and freshness of the morning ! Are not these words enough to convey to us the nature of Southwell's sense of earthly beauty, which as felt by him is so delicate, so luminous, so pure, as to be almost indistinguishable from spiritual beauty ? There is, indeed, the closest kinship between his artistic vision of created things, and his view of the soul as supremely fair, so fair indeed, he says in one of his lyrics, that it

offered force to God,
It chained him in linkes of tender love...¹⁰

The *Epistle* sounds the same note : “Let us not, the writer says, set so little by that [soul] which God prized so much. Let us not rate ourselves at so base a pennyworth, being in truth of so peerless dignity. If the soul be such that not the gold and treasure of the world, nor anything of less worth than the blood and life of Almighty God, was able to buy it; if not all the dainties that wit can devise or heaven and earth afford, but only God's own precious Body was by himself deemed a repast fit to feed it; if not all the creatures of this world, nor millions of new worlds if so many were created, but only the illimitable goodness and majesty of God can satisfy the desire and fill the compass and capacity of it; who but of lame judgment and perverse will..... could.....

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 48-49 & 48, 51, 52. The last sentence is from Ecclesiastes, xi, 3.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 53, § 73.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 63, § 117.

¹⁰ *Complete poems*, GROSART'S ed., p. 86.

be contented to suffer so noble a paragon so many months and years to lie channeled in ordure and mired in all sin."¹¹

The Jesuit's spiritual attitude is here definitely optimistic, and akin to that of those "devout humanists," whose memory has been revived by the Abbé Bremond. It also reminds us of Saint Francis of Sales, though the difference in the style of the two writers be at once noticeable. That of the bishop of Geneva is diversified by many touches of homely humour, of quaint geniality. On the other hand, Southwell does not allow himself any departure from the tone of the literary "genre" which he has chosen. The *Epistle* flows smoothly, evenly; its gravity is sustained; even the wonderfully poetical images which are frequently brought in, are free from the lively picturesqueness of the age; they are used with the greatest possible conciseness and economy. The occasional appearance of a racy English phrase is more than offset by the Latin character of the vocabulary as a whole. In a word, though the inspiration of the work be largely drawn from Scripture and the Fathers, its contents have been cast into the classical mould; and it deserves admiration for those very qualities which are essentially classical: its freedom from any ruggedness, its finished form, its balanced harmony. It may disappoint the reader who is in quest of the unexpected and curious; but even more than the *Hundred Meditations* it is a masterpiece of English religious prose; and it would no doubt have won early recognition as such, had not its Catholic character prevented its dissemination.

* * * * *

The *Triumphs over death* were in a different case. The work was first of all written as a "consolatorie epistle" for the earl of Arundel, upon the death of his half-sister Margaret Sackville; and though it was afterwards printed and widely circulated, though a Catholic could make no mistake as to its deeper sense, it was not meant primarily as religious propaganda. Indeed, it might almost deceive one who was not "in the know." Of course, the advice and solace provided in it for those whom death has bereft of their friends, is Christian in spirit; but the Jesuit plan, of fitting into the Christian frame, and turning to a Christian purpose, whatever can be retained of the wisdom of the ancients, is followed here more closely than anywhere else in Southwell's works. Latin literature supplied him with precedents for such a letter of condolence; in these every human argument was used which might diminish the grief of those who had lost their dearest ones. The same sort of expostulation might now be used, so long as mere reasonableness was raised to a divinely spiritual plane.

¹¹ *Triumphs*, ed. cit., pp. 56-57, § 88.

In fact it comes almost as a surprise to the reader that one so loving and lofty-minded as the Jesuit should, in the presence of death, take up an attitude which is, in the main, one of mere practical wisdom. To some extent indeed, he commends the Christian virtues of resignation, of compliance with the will of God; but even then his advice is prompted by prudence more than enthusiasm : and the keynote which he strikes and repeats from end to end of the *Triumphs* is that of decent moderation, of conformity with the ideal of the golden mean. He briefly owns, to begin with, that mourning for departed friends is natural, and even prescribed by God himself in the Bible; but "as not to feel sorrow in sorrowful chances is to want sense, so not to bear it with moderation is to want understanding; the one brutish, the other effeminate; and he hath cast his account best that hath brought his sum to the mean."¹² Excess in sadness as well as in mirth is a "disorder in passion;" he who grieves should be "a discreet mourner; making sorrow a sequel not a superior of reason."¹³ Besides exaggerated mournfulness is detrimental to him who entertains it; it spells selfishness, if it is fondly nursed ; or again, distrust of those who have gone, since, if they were virtuous, death is but for them "an entrance into felicity."¹⁴

The string of argument breaks here to make room for a sweetly harmonious portrait of the earl's half-sister. Whether this portrait be true to life is another question; for Southwell, who knew the lady Margaret only by hearsay, seems to have read into her character both his own preferences and those of the Society of Jesus. After mentioning her birth, he enlarges upon her virtue and modesty, which were praised even by the heretics; the mild way in which she "accepted the check of Fortune;" her lovingness towards her friends and even towards her enemies. "Her attire, he adds, was ever such as might both satisfy a curious eye and yet bear witness of a sober mind : neither singular nor vain, but such as her peers of best report used."¹⁵ The words are almost similar to those which the Jesuit was afterwards to use in the *Rule of good life*; and his moral description of Margaret Sackville is similarly coloured. She was, he says, wont to weep for her friends' misfortunes; "yet were [her tears] not accompanied with distempered words or ill-seeming actions : reason never forgetting decency though

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 2, § 6. Cf. SENECA'S *Ad Marciam consolatio*, in L. Annaei SENECAE *Opera philosophica*, vol. II, LEMAIRES *Bibliotheca classica latina*, Parisiis 1827, p. 130 : "At enim naturale desiderium suorum est. Quis negat, quamdiu modicum est ?"

¹³ *Triumphs*, ed. cit., p. 3, § 10.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 4, § 16. Cf. SENECAE *Opera*, ed. cit., p. 140 : "Dolor tuus, O marcia, si modo illi ulla ratio est, utrum sua spectat incommoda, an ejus qui decessit ?"

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 6, § 27.

remembering pity."¹⁶ She was regular in her prayers, and a dutiful wife; and her dying moments were a worthy crowning of her life. The most beautiful, and the only really moving passage in the *Triumphs*, is found here: "She showed no dismay being warned of her danger — carrying in her conscience the safe-conduct of innocence — but having sent her desires before her to Heaven, with a mild countenance and a most calm mind, in more hope than fear, she expected her own passage.

"She commended both her duty and goodwill to all her friends and cleared her heart from all grudge against her enemies; wishing true happiness to them both, as best became so soft and gentle a mind in which anger never stayed but as an unwelcome stranger...

"In the end, when her glass was run out and death began to challenge his interest, some labouring with too-late remedies to hinder the delivery of her sweet soul, she desired them eftsoons to let her go to God; and her hopes calling her to eternal kingdoms, as one rather falling asleep than dying, she most happily took her leave of all mortal miseries."¹⁷

Southwell now reverts to his pleading, which is as usual interspersed with beautiful images, and turns, now to arguments of a distinctly religious sort, now to others which are prompted by mere commonsense. Like Thomas More in his *Utopia*, he asserts that the decease of those who depart virtuously ought to be a cause of gladness, not grief, to their friends. Be joyful, he says to the earl. Such a death as your sister's was to be wished for. God knew that she was less able than you to bear the grief of bereavement on earth; he loved her better in calling her up to him than you did in desiring her further life; he wishes to attract your love heavenwards. "She did... her duty in dying willingly; and if you will do yours you must be willing with her death."¹⁸ You should be thankful for having enjoyed your sister so long. What is life, but a loan from God? We have no reason to complain when it is withdrawn. We ought not to forget our "mortality." "The general tide wafteth all passengers to the same shore: some sooner, some later, but all at the last; and we must settle our minds to take our course as it cometh, never fearing a thing so necessary yet ever expecting a thing so uncertain..."¹⁹ In Paradise we received the sentence of death and here as prisoners we are kept in ward, tarrying but our turns till the gaoler call us to our execution."²⁰ The same idea is again expressed in another simile of

¹⁶ *Triumphs*, ed. cit., p. 7, § 31.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9, § 37, 38, 40.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11, § 49. Cf. SENECA, *Opera*, ed. cit., p. 170: "Querere, Marcia, non tam diu vixisse filium tuum, quam potuisset? Unde enim scis, an diutius illi expedierit? an illi hac morte consultum sit?"

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 13, § 60.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 14, § 66.

great beauty and harmony : "The terms of our life are like the seasons of the year : some for sowing, some for growing and some for reaping; in this only different, that as the motions of the heavens keep their prescribed periods, so the successions of times have their appointed changes. But in the seasons of our life, which are not tied to the law of necessary causes, some are reaped in the seed, some in the blade, some in the unripe ear, all in the end; this harvest depending only upon the Reaper's will."²¹

This resignation to the will of God, however, is but one step removed from a wise moderation prompted by reason and decency. The unspeakable sorrow of the Virgin Mary is made to fit in with the ideal of the golden mean : Our Lady, "being the pattern of Christian mourners, so tempered her anguish that there was neither anything undone that might be exacted of a mother, nor anything done that might be disliked in so perfect a matron."²² We should take example after her : since our whole life is doleful, our weeping "must be used with measure that must be used often."²³ Tears of love in prayer, tears of contrition, are allowable; but passionate grief should be avoided at all costs : "Learn... to give sorrow no long dominion over you; whereof the wise should rather make than expect an end. Meet it not when it cometh; do not invite it when it is absent; when you feel it not do not force it... You should bury the sharpness of your grief with the corse and rest contented with a kind yet a mild compassion, neither less than decent for you nor more than agreeable to your mature judgment."²⁴ Such a "great personage" as the earl should be a model for all, and "yield to wisdom that" grief he "must yield to time."²⁵

Indeed, the attitude of the Christian here comes remarkably near to that of the Stoic, who unallured by pleasure, undaunted by pain or fright, faces both good and ill fortune with equanimity : "Desire and fear are enemies to quiet possession, making men rather servants than owners of God's benefits. The cause of our troubles is that our misadventures happen either to unwitting or to unwilling minds; foresight preventeth the one, indifference the other."²⁶ But "indifference" in the presence of pain requires fortitude; this is made easier by reflection on the greater evils that befall other men, and for which we should be

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 22, § 106.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 15, § 69.

²³ *Ibid.*, § 71.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 16, § 76-77.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 18, § 83. Cf. SENECAE *Opera*, ed. cit., p. 211 (*Ad Polybium consolatio*) : "Multa tibi non licent, quae humillimis et in angulo jacentibus licent." P. 132. (*Ad Marciam consolatio*) : "Dolorem dies consumit; licet contumacissimum quotidie insurgentem, et contra remedia effervescentem, tamen illum efficacissimum mitigandae ferociae tempus enervat."

²⁶ *Triumphs*, ed. cit., p. 26, § 131.

loth to exchange our own. Affliction should be faced squarely and thus it will lose its sting : "A resolute virtue in the deepest distresses is most impregnable."²⁷

To finish with, Southwell reverts to the comforts brought to the earl by the memory of his half-sister's life. Nor is her death of less advantage to him : he must take it as a profitable warning, as an incitement to think, not of her fate, but of his own future : "If we were diligent in thinking of our own we should have little leisure to bewail others' deaths. When the soldier in skirmish seeth his next fellow slain, he thinketh it more time to look to himself than to stand mourning a helpless mischance; knowing that the hand that sped so near a neighbour cannot be far from his own head."²⁸ This strangely dry-hearted and scarcely uplifting spiritual selfishness is however left aside in the Jesuit's conclusion; and again the reverts to Christian resignation, quoting as examples for the earl to follow those men who in the Old Testament most readily accepted sacrifice at the hands of God : Abraham, Jephthah and Job.

Such an ending was of course suitable for a work on Christian mourning; but throughout the *Triumphs*, there is a constant discrepancy in tone and feeling between the passages in which Southwell praises self-renunciation and devotion to God alone, and those in which he dwells upon the advantages of an almost Pagan fatalism. This lack of harmony in the thought is further enhanced by the author's attempt to import the style of the epigram into the realm of prose. There might be some justification for its use in *Saint Peters Complaint*, where the self-contained nature of the stanza might be pleaded; but there is no excuse for the chopping up of the *Triumphs* into independent paragraphs. One of the chief beauties of classical prose, the adaptation of its noble sweep to a long train of thought, is thus lost. The work, however, has its stylistic and poetical merits, which should not be minimized, and to which it is hoped that full justice has been done in the above summary : Southwell's prose is here as melodiously balanced and as free from visible tricks of repetition as ever; the images are sparingly coloured, but perhaps the more suggestive for such restraint. And yet, it must be owned that the *Triumphs* leave the reader with a distinctly unsatisfactory impression. The *Epistle of Comfort* breathed an exhilarating enthusiasm in the glad acceptance of tribulation; Southwell's *Epistle to his father* gradually rose from grave reflection on the fear of death to the radiant serenity of heavenly bliss. But there is little that is elating about the *Triumphs*, in which the author advocates

²⁷ *Ibid.*, § 129. Cf. HORACE, *Odes*, Book II, Carmen III :
Aequam memento rebus in arduis
Servare mentem,.... etc.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 29, § 146.

temperate sorrow, or even disallows all grieving whatever, so long as its object is merely human. We seem far removed here from the tears of Christ at Lazarus' tomb, or St Augustine's advice to weep freely when in bereavement in order to be truly human.

Of course there can be no possible doubt or misgiving as to Southwell's intention in penning the *Triumphs*. Whatsoever he wrote, he wrote in a Christian sense; nor can it be shown that any one of his propositions plainly contradicts the teachings of Christianity. But the real question lies elsewhere : does the Jesuit, when emphasizing the necessity of practical wisdom and commonsense in the face of death, take up an attitude which is Christian in spirit ? To this we must perforce answer in the negative. In the *Triumphs*, Southwell's education gets the better of his deeper feelings and even of his religious profession. Like his Latin poem *De Assumptione*, the piece is a preposterous adaptation of the classical mood to religious ends. How much it owes to the direct or indirect influence of ancient philosophy appears in the above extracts. Southwell clearly had Seneca's *Ad Marciam consolatio* quite fresh in his memory when he wrote his own epistle of condolence ; though too much should not be made of the reappearance in his work of trite commonplaces which are in no way distinctive. In any case, there is no mistaking the general atmosphere. Even the most religious parts of his advice are couched in the shape of an appeal to reason. The steadiness of the mind in prosperity and misfortune; "indifferency" to pleasure and pain; the "bootlessness" of mirth and grief ; all these hail straight from stoicism. Now there is an essential difference in the way in which the Christian and the Stoic face the vicissitudes of life. The former is moved to the acceptance of evil by a sense of his own unworthiness, of the original lapse of mankind from God's grace and of the final victory of good ; the latter is actuated by a self-centred, unbending pride, which raises him above all external occurrences ; he believes that good and evil are alike to no purpose, and his fortitude is but a form of despair. His attitude is harsh, aloof and scarcely human ; it is repellent in itself, and must have been even more so to Southwell's humble, loving, trustful soul. Nor can we believe that the equipoise of mind prescribed by the rules of his order implied a cold and detached view of all that concerned his fellow-men. It seems strange and unnatural that in condoling with the grief of Philip Howard, whose circumstances required an enthusiastic acceptance of sacrifice, Southwell should have schooled himself to mere reasonableness. One cannot but wonder at his motives. He may have been sincere, in so far as he attempted a mere intellectual construction ; but of a certainty, he was not giving expression to his own true self. This is one reason for the literary weakness of the *Triumphs*, in which moreover no real poetical flame could be kindled by the doctr-

ine of moderation, soberness and decency. Despite occasional flashes of lyrical beauty, the chief merit to which the work can lay claim is its concinnity.

* * * * *

Between the penning of the *Triumphs* — Southwell's least spontaneous work — and that of the *Humble Supplication to her Majestie*, which is aflame with the most ardent sincerity, only a few short months, perhaps even a few weeks, were to elapse. The sharpening of the persecution had suddenly made it necessary for the Jesuit to give up whatever, in his compositions, savoured of the literary pastime. The *Supplication* is the ablest, fullest and most powerful plea ever put forward in the defence of the English Catholics in the time of Queen Elizabeth ; it was written to clear them from the charges heaped upon them by the proclamation of October 18th, 1591, which aimed both at endangering their lives and blemishing their characters. Of the literary features of Southwell's reply we shall say little : they are the same in every essential particular as in his previous works, and we need not dwell on the classicality of its style, its flourish of Euphuism at the outset, the soft, clear glow of its images, or its occasional homeliness. Its chief beauty lies in the author's feelings, and in the naked, moving simplicity with which they are voiced. Besides, its interest is due to the glaring light which it casts upon the definitely seamy side of Elizabethanism : the mendacious hypocrisy of its Machiavellian statecraft, the cruel and hateful way in which it crushed its religious opponents. It was obviously struck off at short notice to obviate the effects of the proclamation, and it merely takes up each phrase in its turn in order to confute it. The very notion of a supplication to the Queen agrees with Southwell's temper and that of the English Catholics at large. Humble loyalty and devotion to the Crown had always been the keynote of their attitude ever since the time of the Pilgrimage of grace ; and besides the Jesuit expected as much pity from others as he himself felt for others in his tender heart. The opening lines are typical : "Most mightie and most mercifull, most feared, and best beloued Princes, they are at the bottom of a helpelesse miserie, whome both a condemned estate maketh common objects of abuse, and an vn pitied oppression barreth from discouering their griefes to those, that onelie are able to afford them remedy. Euery one trampleth vpon theyr ruine, whom a Princes disgrace hath once ouerthrowne."²⁹ But a prince ought to be just to great and mean, "and

²⁹ *Supplication*, 1600 ed., p. 1. The text of this edition, the only one known, is disfigured by frequent misprints, and scarcely intelligible in parts for lack of suitable punctuation. In the British Museum copy which we are now quoting, the misprints have been very aptly corrected by a contemporary hand, presumably from a manuscript copy, and these corrections are here adopted.

therefore an humble confidence in your Maiesties goodnesse, (perfect in all Princely duties, & the only shot anker of our iust hopes) induced vs to lay open our manifold extremities... And though our condition be so desolate, that wee can neyther be freed from outward miserie, but by becomming inwardly more miserable, nor complaine of our troubles, but our very complaints are punished; yet an infamed life, being to free mindes more irkesome then an innocent death, we had rather put our vttermost hazards to your highnes clemencie, then seeme with our silence to give credit to our obliques [obloquies] ..."³⁰

Southwell's high opinion of the Queen's justice cannot allow him to believe that she is responsible for the proclamation; nor is it possible that her Council should have taken this opportunity of satisfying their private hatred, at the risk of hurting her fame. The proclamation first states that the king of Spain has "practised with certaine principall seditious heads, being vnnatural subjects of our kingdom (but yet very base of birth) to gather together... a multitude of dissolute young men, who haue partly for lacke of liuing, partely for crimes committed become Fugitives, Rebelles, and Traitors, and for whom there are in Rome, and Spaine, and other places certaine receptacles made to liue in..."³¹ Unnatural subjects! Southwell exclaims, thus are the Catholics branded because they take refuge abroad. And yet they cannot stay at home for fear of the persecution. Are they expected to give up their religion in order to avoid censure? This they cannot do, because they are certain that they hold the truth. Far from hating their own contry, they show their love of it by trying to convert it. If only they might convert the Queen as well!

The "principal seditious heads" mentioned by the proclamation are no doubt Cardinal Allen and Fr. Persons, S. J., the founders of the continental seminaries. They have, it is true, sought to retrieve the fortunes of English Catholicism on foreign soil, but why should this be made a crime? Do you not, Southwell asks — now forgetting the Queen, and addressing his religious opponents — think such a thing lawful and praiseworthy in the case of the Protestant exiles from England at Geneva under Queen Mary, or from the states of Flanders at present? "So true it is, the same thing is not it selfe in diuers persons."³² The chief Catholics are stated to be "very base of birth." Southwell has obviously been stung to the quick by this imputation. He shows how Allen might have risen very high even at home, and has attained to the highest dignities at the papal court; how Person's parents, who were not of high estate, but honest, gave him an education

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

³¹ *A declaration of the great troubles...* (proclamation of October 18 th, 1591), printed by Christopher BAKER, f. 1.

³² *Supplication*, p. 9.

which might have carried him very far. As for the other missionary priests there are more gentlemen among them than among the Protestant clergy in England, although these be ten times as numerous.

Southwell now turns to the charge implied by the words "dissolute young men," and confutes it in a nobly indignant passage : "We desire no other evidence to disprove this accusation, then an indifferent censure : For first before our departure out of the Realme, we must resolute to abandon our Countrey, friendes, and all such comforts, as naturally all men seeke and finde in their native soyle. We must relinquish all possibilities of fauour, riches and credit. We must limite our minds to the restrained and seuer course of the SOCIETY OF JESUS, or the Seminaries, where the place is in exile, the rules strickt, the gouvernement austere, our willes broken, the least fault chastised, & a most absolute vertue exacted... It is knowne to thousandes, and daylie seene, and witnessed by traueellers, that we are there tide [tied] to so precise termes in diet, apparell, exercise, & all other things, that wee are much more shortned of our scope, then in any Colledge of our English Vniuersities..."³³ We come back, the proclamation asserts, in "gay disguise."³⁴ But our apparel must needs remain that of laymen until you allow us to walk openly in our clerical dress. Meanwhile the means of saving souls must be considered first.

We are said to "auiode the Realme for lacke of living."³⁵ This is merely absurd, since we go away to voluntary poverty, to a life more strenuous and more dangerous than bondage. Many of us belong to rich families; many have come out of the Universities, Inns of Court, etc., and might have risen at home like their non-Catholic fellow-students. We are also said to fly from the realm "for crimes committed."³⁶ Yet no one of the Catholic priests hitherto tried has been charged with any misdeed perpetrated before his departure from home; and our superiors would never admit any one to probation, who was not free from any guilt of the kind.

* * * * *

These preliminary matters being dismissed, the Jesuit now deals with the main question — a burning question even nowadays — that of Catholic loyalty. No clear line had been as yet drawn between a man's private beliefs and his allegiance to the state; papal claims to universal overlordship had only been partly dropped; and thus the Catholic missionary priest who came to England to win back his

³³ *Ibid*, p. 12.

³⁴ *A declaration...*, § 6.

³⁵ *Supplication*, p. 16.

³⁶ *Ibid*, p. 18.

countrymen to his faith, ran the risk of being considered as a political emissary, who was trying to restore the temporal dominion of the pope. Southwell was in this respect clearly in advance of his Anglican opponents, for he took his stand on the superior rights of conscience, not on those of Roman theocracy as against English nationalism. Besides he asserted his absolute loyalty under any circumstances. This, coming from a Jesuit, is the more worthy of note, as a recent historian has stated that Elizabethan Catholics were but lukewarmly loyal, and that in fact there was no reason why they should be.³⁷ Southwell certainly took a patriotic line, and considered the person of the sovereign as sacred, thus providing an example of the queen-worship of the period.

We shall now come, he says, to the "sharpest dint" of our enemies. We are called "fugitives, rebels, and traytours." But we swear that we merely come for the salvation of souls; and we claim the right to be believed on our oath, an oath that we shall, if necessary, seal with our blood. If, however, this is not accounted sufficient, let the question be argued, whether there would be any point in our committing treason, without the hope of any gain but harm to ourselves. Who would risk his life to reap nothing but shame? For no rebellion of ours, he adds, has any chance of success. We are scarce three hundred Catholic priests; other Catholics are few, closely watched, and impoverished. And if we were sent over to prepare a foreign invasion, our education in the colleges abroad would be martial, and not confined to philosophy and divinity. We have come for the sake of our religion, not to seek the life of the Queen. "Let his... be an assured prooffe [of the above]..., that sith we are so religiously addicted to the end of our comming, that for the atchiuing thereof, we recount our torments, triumphes, & our deathes a glorye: If this end were the ouerthrow of your Maiestie: or if your displeasing had bin the point, that with so many bleeding woundes, wee haue witnessed to be so deare vnto us, we would with the losse of fewer liues, have perfitted our purposes, and long ere this haue brought the cards to an vnfortunate shuffling; for whosoever hath contemned his own life, is Maister of anothers; and he that is resolute to spend his blood, will rather seeke to sell it for the intended price, then with a fruitles effusion cast it away for nothing.

"No, no, most gracious SOVERAIGNE, Heaven and Earth shall vvitness vwith vs in the dreadfull day of doome, that our breast never harboured such horrible treasons, and that the end of our comming is the saluation of soules, not the murthuring of bodies, we beeing rather willing to die, then to contribute the least haire of our head to the latter, and not so willing to liue, as to shed the best blood in our bodies..."³⁸

³⁷ Christopher HOLLIS, *The monstrous regiment*, p. 118 sqq.

³⁸ *Supplication*, p. 24.

Nor are the Catholic missionaries merely unwilling to shed their princess's blood; they profess loyalty on principle, without any other reservation than that of the rights of conscience, which they plead as bishop Stephen Gardiner had done in the days of Edward VI. We are, Southwell affirms to the Queen, full of respect for your temporal power. Our faith makes it essential for subjects to obey "the just laws of their prince." We resist only where "damnation of our soules would be the consequence."³⁹

The Catholics are made responsible for the plots of Parry, Ballard and Babington against the Queen; but matters should be viewed in a different light. Southwell here undertakes a discussion of the facts, which properly belongs to the realm of history, and lies outside the scope of the present study. He comes to the not unlikely conclusion that the Gifford plot — which had been carefully kept secret from all Jesuits and priests — was a "trick of policy," the work of *agents provocateurs*, meant to raise agitation and alarm among the people, so as to serve the purpose of the government. The loyalty of the Catholics is so great, Southwell says, that it is necessary to invent bogus conspiracies in order to blacken them. Of course the Queen is too virtuous and merciful to do any harm willingly, but the Catholics are unable to make themselves heard: "It hath bin alwaies the pollicie of our aduersaries, to keepe vs aloofe from reuealing our vniust oppressions, lest they should incline your mercie to pittie vs."⁴⁰ Our real feelings are shown by the fact that even at the time of the Babington plot, those of us who allowed themselves to be entrapped were ridiculously few in number. In fact, the Catholics are the safest support of the monarchy; and if the Queen viewed things aright, she would not molest them, while dealing gently with the extreme Protestants, who are ever on the brink of revolt: "Because we like God-Almighties fooles (as some scornefully call vs) lay our shoulders vnder euery load, and are contented to make patience the only salue for all sores: many that see, are willing to vse the awe [sic] of conscience, for [their] warrant to treade vs downe, whereas they presume not to meddle with others, although more fatall to your highnesse estate, knowing that if they shoulde make them partners, but of halfe our afflictions, they would seem to bewray more impatient stomackes..." "The "vehement working" of their "spirites" induces them to "challenge... humane soueraignty" in the name of a new Christ. "It cannot choose but bee seene and knowne, howe much more cause there is, to loke into their actions, and to feare their attempts, than to wreake so much anger vpon vs, that were neuer chargeable with so huge enormities."⁴¹ Southwell's utterances

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 47-48.

are here prophetic : the downtrodden Catholics were to be the staunch supporters of Charles I; and the latter's crown and life were to be lost at the hands of those very Puritans, whose spiritual ancestors had clamoured for a straiter persecution of "papisty" under Elizabeth.

One of the charges mentioned in the proclamation is that the missionary priests bring "Buls from the Pope, some of Indulgences pretending to promise heaven to such as will yeelde, and some of cursings, threatening damnation and hell to such as shall not yeelde to their perswasions" of taking up arms for the King of Spain.⁴² This, Southwell says, is theologically unsound. "No Bulle can promise Heaven or threaten Hell, but for keeping or breaking Gods commaundementes."⁴³ But the next assertion of the proclamation is more serious, for it states that the missionary priests are condemned for treason and nothing else. Now the word treason, Southwell replies, here means no other crime than that of their priesthood; for they are sentenced to death merely for having received Roman orders. What then would be the fate, in the eyes of Elizabethan tribunals, of those apostles and pastors who have graced England of time past, and were also "consecrated by authority beyond the seas?" And why is no exception taken to "the making" of "Protestant ministers" at Basle or Geneva? Our only oath on being ordained, he adds, is not treasonable, since it is the vow of chastity, "a thing rather pleasing then offensive to a vertuous Queene, who hath for her selfe made choise of a single life."⁴⁴ And for further proof that our priesthood is our sole offence, are we not "offred, that once going to the Anglican church, shuld wipe away the heinousness of this treason : a curtesie never mentioned to true traitors, & a sufficient prooffe it was a religious faulte, that is so easily clered by a religious action."⁴⁵

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Southwell's pleading proceeds on the same tone of gentle, though forcible, reasonableness. We are charged, he says, with a design to kill the Queen. What good, he replies, would such a murder bring to us? "VVe carrie our desires, so high lifted aboue savage and brutish purposes, that we rather hope to make our owne Martyrdome, steppes to a glorious eternitie, then [others] deathes, our purchase of eternal dishonour."⁴⁶ Besides, we love our country too much to make ourselves responsible for the "infinite vprores" that would follow upon the vacancy of the crown. We should stand to lose much from the

⁴² *A declaration*, f. 1.

⁴³ *Supplication*, p. 52.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

"peoples furie," and the Queen's successor might be even "further from our Religion." Our condition is wretched, but might become even worse: "for nowe our dispairefull estate is much like vnto a vveake and tender Castell, beseegeed vvith manie enimies, and continually battered and beaten with Shotte, in vvich though the aboade be amongst manie accounted most dangerous and distresseful yet without it there is nothing but certaine miseries." So the best we can do after all is to "trust to the softnesse of [the Queen's] mercifull hand."⁴⁷

And now the Jesuit turns to the trickiest point of all — the so-called "bloody question." Whenever a missionary priest was tried, his life was made to hang upon his answer to the following query: if a papal army were to land in England, whom would you side with? If the answer was "with the pope," treason would be proved; if "with the Queen," it would be a disclaimer of all papal pretensions to overlordship, the more useful for being uttered by a Papist. In fact, the Catholics on trial seldom agreed to charge themselves with a purely hypothetical offence, and generally refused to reply. Campion and his companions had had to wrestle with the difficulty, which tried them sore. It was of course greater for them, at a time when a Catholic expedition against England was still accounted possible, than for Southwell, who was writing after the defeat of the Armada had dealt a crushing blow to all such hopes. But even taking this into account, it is not a little striking that the Jesuit's reply to the "bloody question" should leave no doubt as to his loyalty and to his love of his own country. It may be approved of on patriotic grounds, or disapproved of in the name of united Christendom, but it is neither hesitating nor ambiguous. There is little likelihood, Southwell says, that any Catholics should have confessed that "they would take part with the Armie of the Pope... vnless it were proceeded out of some fraile tounge by force of torture for such is now our forlorne estate, that we are not onely prisoners, at every promoters pleasure, and common steps for euerie one to tread vpon: but men so neglected by our Superiours, and so left to the rage of pittiles persons, that contrary to the course of all Christian lawes, we are by extreamest torments forced to reveale our very thoughts. It is not enough to confesse that wee are Priests: (for it is seldome denyed) but wee must be vrged upon the torture, with other odious interrogations, farre from our knowledge, much further from our action. We are compelled to accuse those whome our conscience assureth to be innocent, and to cause their ouerthrow by our confessions, to whose souls we were Pastors, and they the fosterers of our bodies. And if we doe not, because without vntruthes and iniuries we cannot answere, we are so vnmercifully tormented, that our deathes,

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 61-62.

(though as full of pangs as hangings, drawing, and vnbowelling vs quicke can make them) are vnto vs rather remedies, then further revenges, more releasing then increasing our miseries. Some are hanged by the handes eight or nine houres, yea twelve houres together, till not only their wits, but even their senses fayle them, & when the soule, (weary of so painefull an harbour, is ready to depart, then apply the[y] cruell comforts & reviuie vs, only to martyr vs with more deaths, for eft soones they hange vs in the same maner, tyeing our eares with such questions, which either we cannot, because we knowe not, or without damning of our soules we may not satisfie; some are whipped naked so long, and with such excesse, that our enimies vnwilling to give constancy the right name, said that no man without the helpe of the diuell, coulde with such vndauntednesse suffer so much. Some besides their tormentes have beene forced to lie continually booted & clothed many weekes together, pyned in their dyet, consumed with varmine and almost stifeled with stench, and kept from sleppe, til they were past the vse of reason, and then examined vpon the advantage, when they could scarce give an account of their owne names... Some for famine have licked the very moisture of the walles... What vnsufferable agonies we have beene put vnto vpon the Racke, it is not possible to expresse, the feeling so farre exceedeth all speech. Some with instruments have beene rouled vp together like a balle, and so crushed that the blood sprouted out at diverse partes of their bodies." Southwell now goes on to describe the harsh treatment meted out to those Catholics who were sentenced to hard labour at Bridewell prison, where "vnderlings... shew... their authority" vpon those "to whome every warder, Iayler, and Porter, is an vnresisted Lord."⁴⁸

Such tortures would draw any answer out of any man's mouth; and yet, if the words referring to the pope's army were uttered, "they were spoken by some vnskilfull Lay-man, that knowing not howe to aunswere such captious questions, and for reverence of the chiefe Pastour of GOD'S church, not daring to say that he woulde not take part against him, had rather venture his life, by saying too much, than hazard his conscience in not aunswering sufficient."⁴⁹ But our very deaths, Southwell adds, show that we are "ready to defend our Realme, as the Catholike subjectes, of you[r] Maiesties auncestours or any other Princes were, or ever shall bee... We assure your Maiesty, that what armie soeuer shoulde come against you, we will rather yeeld our breastes to bee broached by our enimies swordes than vse our swordes to the effusion of our Country blood."⁵⁰ This magnanimous answer may

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 62-65.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

suggest passive sacrifice rather than active resistance. Yet the tone is that of loyalty. In fact, it is not true, the Jesuit asserts, that "scrolls" giving the names of disaffected English Catholics have been handed to the king of Spain; nor would they be of great help to him. He has much weightier reasons to attack England than the wish to succour his co-religionists.

Once again, Southwell leaves the ground of international politics to revert to the miserable condition of Catholics at home. The proclamation states that "a number of men of wealth in [the] realme professing contrary religion [to that of the State,] are knowen not to be impeached for the same, either in their lives, landes, or goodes, or in their liberties, but onely by payment of a pecuniary summe, as a penalty for the time that they refuse to come to church."⁵¹ This seems lenient enough, but Southwell exposes the fallacy of the contention. If this be true, he says, why have Catholics been shut up in prisons in the past — priests at Wisbech, laymen there also, and at Ely and Banbury; why are they now practically prisoners in their own houses, being left just free enough to entrap themselves a little more? This for religion only, since many of those held in captivity have been "offered liberty if they would goe to [the Anglican] Church."⁵² What torment can be greater for the souls of Catholics than that of being deprived of priests, the dilemma being for them to live like heathens or to hazard everything. Their character — the passage has been quoted in a previous chapter⁵³ — is in the hands of any one who cares to slander them. If they give in and agree to attend an Anglican service, they show they are Protestants, according to the opinion of Calvin and Melanchton themselves. And let it be noted here once for all that at no single place does Southwell consider the State church in another light than that of a "Protestant" body. This is precious evidence as to the view which contemporaries quite spontaneously took of the religious situation in England; they do not even seem to have suspected the later claims of Anglicanism to Catholic "continuity."

The Jesuit lastly deals with the "pecuniary fine," which the proclamation seems to make so light of. He describes the way in which it is exacted. The goods of poor people are seized, even the glass in their windows. All live in a perpetual terror of the "pursuivants," the special anti-Catholic police entrusted with the enforcement of the penal laws. Here Southwell's poetical flame, never as yet fully quenched, again rises to the lyricism of the *Epistle of Comfort*: "It is not possible to expresse in words the continual hel we suffer by the merciles searching

⁵¹ *A declaration...*, f. 2.

⁵² *Supplication*, pp. 74-75.

⁵³ Cf. above, chapt. vi.

et storming of purseuants et such needy officers, that care not by whose fall they rise, not having any deserts or other degrees, to clime to the hight of their ambition, but by the punishment et paines of poore Catholikes. They water their fountains with the showres of our tenderest vaines, et build their houses with the ruines of ours, tempering the mortar of their foundations, with our innocent blod : our liuings are but snares for the owners liues, commonly made the fee of e[ue]ry mercenary mouth; that can by sounding our disgraces into credulous eares, procure themselves warrants to seaze upon our substance. They make our willes before we be sicke, bequeathing to their owne vses, what share they like, et by displanting our ofspring adopt themselves to be heirs of our lands, beging et broking for them, as if we were either condemned for fooles, or in perpetual minority, et not contented with our wealth, they persecute our lives, never thinking their possession sure, til the assurance be seasoned with our death."⁵⁴ Mere thieves assume the guise of pursuivants in order to rob us; no one is so base but he gets the upper hand with Catholics. "We are accounted men, whom it is a credit to pursue, a disgrace to protect, a commodity to spoile, a gaine to torture, et a glory to kill."⁵⁵ And the Jesuit concludes with a new appeal to the Queen's mercy, of which even the proclamataion cannot bring him to despair.

It seems impossible to rise from a reading of this magnificent piece of English prose without a feeling of admiration both for the author's noble-mindeness and for his consummate art. His earnestness and sincerity are such here, that his eloquence, though classically abstract and lacking in colour, shows no trace of the artificial. He is speaking out of the fulness of his heart. Nor are his more intellectual qualities less prominent than elsewhere. He appears as an able and powerful controversialist, though he suffers, in this respect, from the same fault — or rather virtue — as Thomas More. There was bound to be more "bite" about the virulent pamphlets of Tyndale or the Marprelate writers, than about a humble, though dignified, submissive and self-sacrificing defence of the Catholic position. Of course it cannot be denied that Southwell fails to grapple with the main problem : was the medieval dream of a politically united Christendom finally to give way to the rise of modern nationalism ? His twolfold assertion of loyalty to his creed and to his country is sentimental, not the outcome of deliberate reasoning. As regards religious history, the value of the *Supplication* can scarcely be overrated. Southwell's assertion may be taken at a discount when he deals with events prior to his coming to England, though even here his witness be far from negligible; but on the condition,

⁵⁴ *Supplication*, pp. 82-83.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

sufferings and state of mind of his fellow-Catholics, when he affirms for instance, that in the "last attempt" (the Armada) they did more than their share to defend their country,⁵⁶ his evidence is firsthand and expressed with such modesty and restraint, that one feels in it the compelling force of truth. The *Supplication* is obviously not a piece of special pleading. No hypocrite could possibly have struck such a note. The Jesuit's straightforward defence of his Catholic countrymen is more than a document on Elizabethan England. It is a document by which to judge him. It reveals his single minded love of souls, his moral greatness; it is a fitting preface to the ordeal — which he no doubt foresaw — of his trial and execution.

* * * * *

And now, while the shadows thickened around him, Southwell penned the least ornate and the most earnest of his works, the *Short rule of good life*. While thus issuing directions for the everyday conduct of the Countess of Arundel and the government of her ample household, he was reverting to the spiritual sources where he had drunk in his religious fervour in his early youth. The *Rule*, and most of the pieces printed along with it, are an adaptation of St Ignatius' *Exercises*, and of the *Regulae* of the Society of Jesus, true to their models, and yet tinged with the mellow, luminous colour which beautifies all of Southwell's writings, and gives expression to what is most English in him. The various parts of the book are however of mixed character. It looks as if the editor, who published the small volume after the author's death, had gathered together in it such of his devotional remains as he had been able to lay his hands upon. The *Rule* proper extends as far as *An order how to spend every day*, which is part of it; then comes a short treatise *Of temptations*, and two beautiful prayers. These are again followed by a series of *Considerations to settle the minde in the course of Vertue*; then by three sets of tabulated arguments respectively headed *What good a soule loseth by mortall sinne*, and *How a soule is prepared to justification by degrees*. A description in three parallel columns *Of the three sorts of men*, the "open wicked," the "hypocrits" and the "saints," belongs to the same kind of spiritual architecture. Of the four prayers printed towards the end, one is no other than a translation of the Latin fragment *Quid fui, Domine*, etc.,⁵⁷ while to judge from the style, the three others also are English renderings of Latin "precationes," which we may now leave aside.

There is little reason to dwell at length upon the spiritual discipline prescribed in the various "considerations" which make up the former

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

⁵⁷ See above, chapt. iv.

part of the *Rule* and the detached treatises on temptations and virtue. It is indeed couched in elegant and clear prose; but the course of mental exercises there recommended is not original. Their substance belongs to the common stock of Christian experience, while their arrangement strikingly recalls, as in Fr. Persons' *Resolution*,⁵⁸ the *Exercises* of St. Ignatius. Like the founder of his order, the Jesuit appeals to man's sense of his spiritual interest; he argues with his fellow-creatures, to compel them to choose between vice and virtue, between the devil and God; through a chain of logical reasoning, of unavoidable conclusions, he corners them at last into a dilemma, from which they can only escape by deliberately, wholeheartedly, striking the path which leads either to salvation or damnation. Southwell's style is here brisk and clear-cut, and scarcely less soldierlike than that of his model; the settling of man's fate brooks not delay, and must be dispatched forthwith: "Seeing I was made to serve God in this life, and to enjoy him in the next, the service of God, and the salvation of mine owne soule, is the most weighty and important businesse, and the most necessary matter wherein I must imploy my body, mind, time and labour: and all other affaires are so farre forth to bee esteemed of mee weighty or light, as they more or lesse tend to the furtherance of this principal and most earnest businesse: for what availeth it a man to gaine the whole world, and lose his own soule?"⁵⁹

The practical rules which follow upon this mental drill have the spare rigour of military orders: "First what diligence, labour or cost, I would imploy in any other temporall matter of credit, living or life, all that I am bound to imploy in the service of God, and the salvation of my soule, and so much more as the weight of my soule passeth all other things.

"Secondly, I ought to thinke the service of God and salvation of my soule, my principall businesse in this world, and to make it my ordinary study and chiefe occupation, and day and night to keep my mind so fixed upon it, that in every action I still have it before mine eyes, as the onely marke I shoot at."⁶⁰

Southwell clearly tries his best here, to get rid of any stylistic elegance which might savour of self and to doff the variegated garment of his poetical imagination: though there be a kind or steely beauty about the very strictness of his religious precepts. Yet he cannot forget his own nature wholly; and it reasserts itself in his description of the seven "affections" or feelings which man ought to entertain towards

⁵⁸ *The first booke of the Christian Exercise, appertayning to Resolution*, Rouen, 1582; enlarged as *A Christian Directorie*, 1585.

⁵⁹ *St Peters Complainte* etc., 1636 ed., sigs V2^a.b.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, sigs V2.b.V3^a.

his Lord. The "feare of God" comes second among these; not indeed that man be threatened with God's wrath. My fear, Southwell says, should be only that of doing "any thing that may displease God, not onely mortally, but even venially," or of being "banished from him, or forsaken for my sinnes"; or of not "endeavour[ing] what I may to preferre his love and favour towards me."⁶¹ When the Jesuit comes to the *Sixt affection*, which is more congenial to him, that of "resignation," he again rises to noble and touching sweetness and his sentences which as a rule are a trifle short-winded, gain in volume and in fulness. "The sixt Affection is a perfect resignation of my selfe into Gods hands, with a full desire that he should use mee as were most to his glory, whether it were to my temporall comfort or no, and to bee as ready to serve him in misery, need, and affliction as in prosperity and pleasure, thinking it my chieftest delight, to bee used as God will, and to have his pleasure and providence fully accomplished in mee, which is the end for which I was created, and for which I doe live. To attaine this resignation, it is a very fit way to debate and discourse with my selfe, what thing there is could happen unto me, though never so much against my liking, which if it should fall out would trouble mee, or make mee lose that indifferency which I ought to have, in most willingly yeelding my selfe to whatsoever God shall lay upon mee; and if I find anything which I thinke I should not well digest, nor accept with due patience, let mee endeavour to overcome my selfe in it, and by prayer and meditation seeke, to winne the difficulty thereof, that there may bee nothing which I could not willingly accept at Gods hands, how contrary soever it were to my inclination."⁶²

The chief merit of these reflections is not indeed of the literary order; and their beauty arises from the moral height to which they soar. The prayers, which we cannot quote here, are more finished in form, as befits their liturgical purpose. But the most attractive and charming part of the *Rule* is found in the various sections which deal with everyday life. Of course the background, especially in the chapters headed *Of my duty towards my neighbour*, and *Of my duty towards my selfe*, is provided by the *Regulae* of the Society of Jesus. But while the latter are strictly religious in their motives and scope, Southwell adds to them a touch of homely experience, which casts light upon his practical commonsense and large-heartedness. Thus in the section on the *Care of children*, from which we have already quoted, and which would deserve a place in the history of education, he issues directions which are both generous and wise: "I must set honest and sound persons to governe them, that may also teach them vertue and goodnesse,

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, sig. V8b.

⁶² *Ibid.*, ff. Vija.b.

yet not trusting too much to my servants care, but that I myself have a speciall eye over them, and take an account what they doe. I must use them to devotion by little an little, not cloying them with too much at once, but rather seeking to make them take a delight in it... I must keepe them alwayes occupied in some profitable things, allotting them according to their age, more or lesse time of recreation... I must breake them from their wils, and punish them as they deserve; yet remembring also that they are yong, and not keeping them in too much subjection, which may breed in them base and servile minds, and make their love lese towards mee; and I never ought to beat any child in mine anger... I must not use them to vaine dresses, and costly apparell, but rather often shew them the vanitie thereof, yet must they not bee too strait kept in that, or any other thing, which they are afterward to have, lest the being too much barred from it make them more eager to have it, when they come to enjoy it at their owne will... I must hearten them as they grow in yeares, to suffer adversitie, and to digest grieffe, especially in Gods cause, and a good quarrel, telling them the examples of others, and how good a thing patience and constancy is... I must never assure or marrie them, untill they bee of sufficient age to make their owne choice, and frame their liking : neither force them to any match, lest they curse me all their lives after, as it often happeneth."⁶³

The *Order howe to spend every day* is a small masterpiece of inspired commonsense, in regard both to a man's religious duties and to his temporal business. Southwell disapproves of mechanical devotion : "In prayer I must consider the presence of God, not speaking unto him carelessly, or negligently, but thincke a few prayers well said better and more acceptable, than many hastily shuffled over."⁶⁴ The same height of spiritualized wisdom is reached in the directions given by Southwell for a Christian behaviour at meals : "I must neither bee too curious or doubtfull of what I eat, neither precise in the quantitie, finenesse or coursenesse of the meat, but of that which God hath sent, take a competent meale, measurable to my need, and not hurtfull to my health."⁶⁵ But the *Rule* is more than devoutly sensible; it reveals the true nature of its author, which the *Triumphs* had concealed; it shows that his religious fervour is not narrowly selfish and calculating, but at bottom human and generous : "If I have strangers [at my table], Southwell says, I may keepe them company, and talke friendly and merily with them, as occasion shall serve, directing my behaviour agreeable to vertuous conversation : having this intention in my talke, that amitie and love may be maintained, and all breache and unkindnesse

⁶³ *Ibid.*, sigs X8^b-X10^a.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, sig. X11^b.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, sig. X12^a.

avoided.”⁶⁶ Lastly, when he recommends seemliness in the orderly keeping of a household, he gives expression to that taste for the beautiful which agrees so well with his high-mindedness : “It is good for mee sometimes to goe about the roomes of the house to see that they bee kept cleane and handsome, thinking that God is delighted with cleanness both bodily and Ghostly, and detesteth sluttishnesse, as a thing which hee permitteth for a punishment of sinne, and one of the scourges of hell.”⁶⁷

Southwell's spiritual upbringing and experience as a Jesuit are here tinged with his innate Englishness. Both in the *Rule* and in his previous works, many features point the same way. His taste for bodily cleanness, for the beauty of material things, for trades and handicrafts, for decorous substantialness in the home, for the open sea; his practical experience of the realities of moral life, grave indeed, yet mellowed, if not with humour, at any rate with a generous sense of the humanly feasible; his wish to breed in the soul of children, not merely passive, but active and manly qualities; all these in no way disagree with the principles of the Society, and yet seem in perfect keeping with the English character as it now stands. Was the latter at all moulded by the Counter-Reformation ? The question cannot be shirked. Remember that the *Short rule of good life* was printed eight times in the course of the sixty years that followed Southwell's death;⁶⁸ that other works of the same description were being published at the same time;⁶⁸ that the moral advice which they embodied was imparted to the highest-born among the English people, to those families of the aristocracy who, even more so than now, set the fashion in matters of social intercourse and education. In such circumstances, the wonder would be, not that Jesuit influence should have been felt in England, but that it should have remained unfelt. Indeed, some features of the English character seem to be better accounted for by the Jesuit ideal of self-restraint, self-control, quiet cheerfulness in the face of tribulation, than by the boisterousness and sensuousness of Elizabethan paganism, or by the stern wrathfulness of extreme Protestantism. Southwell's model Christian was, in the higher sense of the word, an English gentleman.

Nor was his moral life, as viewed by the Jesuit according to the spirit of his order, essentially different from what it had been before the Reformation. There is of course a gap between English piety in the XIVth and XVth centuries, and Jesuit devotion, as imported into the country by the missionaries. Yet the similarity between them is obvious. Southwell's Protestant contemporaries believed in the moral con-

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, sig. X12b.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, sig. Y^a.

⁶⁸ See *Bibliography* below.

sequences of justification through faith alone, that is to say in a sudden spiritual illumination and regeneration of the soul, which made further sinning impossible. With a keener sense of reality, the Jesuit unwittingly followed in the wake of Walter Hylton and of his school, and considered man's moral life and improvement as a slow ascent, the work of daily patience : "Man's nature being so corrupt, that without continuall violence and force, it cannot attaine to vertue, or leave vice, where unto it is much inclined, I must assure my selfe, that care and watchfulnesse is ever necessary, and because I am apt to fall, I must often renew my good purposes, knowing that I never can goe on in vertue without falling..."⁶⁸ Southwell even outlines a *Scala perfectionis* in his tabulated method for the destruction of sin in ourselves, *How a soule is prepared to justification by degrees*. Thus does his last prose work prove that the Catholic stream, despite its momentary disappearance underground, had not run dry in England. While reverting to the sources of his deeper piety, after his excursion into the field of classicism, he was also regaining touch with what was most English in him. We shall now watch the same development in the succession of his lyrics.

CHAPTER X

"ADAPTATION" AND ORIGINALITY : THE DETACHED LYRICS

Southwell's detached lyrics are nowadays, though wrongly so, considered as his sole title to fame. They are the only part of his works that is generally known to the modern reader. That they should be dealt with here in the space of one brief chapter will therefore give rise to some wonder. Yet the main characteristics of the Jesuit's poetical style have already been described in regard to *St Peter's Complaint*; and on the other hand, our purpose is not to unravel, in the case of each poem, the many-threaded skein of its sources : this should be reserved for a critical edition. Last of all, no length of admiring gloss can replace a direct reading. We shall therefore refrain from going into detail, but merely state the general conclusions which may be drawn from a comparative study of Southwell's shorter poems.

First let it be remembered that, leaving aside a few ceremonial or dedicatory pieces, the Jesuit's lyrics fall into two groups which are strikingly different in character, the poems printed along with *St Peter's complaint* and the *Mæoniæ*. This fact has been obscured by Grosart, who, in order to bring kindred themes together, printed several of the former among the latter. It will not of course be contended that there is a cut-and-dried distinction to be made between the two ; but speaking broadly, it may be asserted that, in the *St Peter* collection, most of the pieces are adaptations of some form or other of the poetry then in fashion ; while the *Mæoniæ* are more plainly and directly religious in spirit, biblical and liturgical in their inspiration.

To begin with the *St Peter* pieces, we purposely use the word "adaptation" instead of "imitation," because in fact Southwell had no intention to cloak his borrowings under the appearance of originality, but quite deliberately went about to make use of the poetical material then extant, in order to turn it into an instrument of edification. However, the expressions which we have hitherto used such as "the fashionable poetry of the time," are too vague and general, and must now be narrowed down to more precise limits. In order to determine the literary movements from which the Jesuit drew his models, we should read the *St Peter* pieces with an eye upon the various collections of lyrics published in the course of the century. These are far from being identical in regard to their themes and inspiration, or to their style and metre. A distinct break takes place about the year 1550. Previous to

this date there ran in English courtly poetry a vein of religious thoughtfulness, a rather naïve blending of classical wisdom with Christian morality, which hailed from the first phase of humanism, and anticipated the Jesuit plan of education, and there was mingled with it the carefree jauntiness of a period in which religious strife had not yet sunk very deep, and in which the morning awakening of the Renaissance might still be enjoyed in all its freshness ; this mood being reflected in the easy, breezy style, and the fanciful variations of the metre. After 1560, devotional subjects are generally reserved for professedly religious poets, Catholic or Protestant ; they seldom appear in the miscellanies, which become more licentious ; the theme of love is now treated, not in Petrarch's idealistic mood, but in a more sensuous key. At the same time mechanical preciousness gains ground, and all kinds of mannerisms creep in, while both lines and stanzas become more self-contained and set.

If we consider merely the outward form of Southwell's earlier lyrics, we shall find them in agreement with the tastes which had prevailed from about 1580 onwards, and which, though waning, were to last on to the end of the century and even later : the Jesuit's condensed, rhetorical style is strikingly akin to that of the *Phoenix Nest*, which is contemporary with him. But in regard to the matter of the *St Peter* pieces, he owes much to the poets of the earlier part of the century. The Catholic aristocracy among whom he lived were of necessity conservative. They were debarred from actual presence at court ; they cherished the memories of former generations, and looked back longingly to the past, especially to the reign of Queen Mary, in which the "old religion" had come into its right again. No wonder, therefore, that Southwell's themes should often recall those which are handled in *Tottel's miscellany*, which, while printed in 1557, embodied the works of Surrey, Wyatt, Vaux, etc., in other words those of the Henrician school of courtly poets ; and that there should be points of likeness between his vein and the works of Gascoigne, which, though Elizabethan, belonged to the first decade of the Queen's reign. At the same time, Southwell was indirectly in touch with non-Catholic court-circles as well ; and of this, his earlier lyrics bring proof. Among the most renowned poets in queen Elizabeth's favour was Sir Edward Dyer, a protégé of Leicester's and a friend of Sidney's. Now the Jesuit selected and adapted two of his most famous lyrics to suit them to his pious purpose. He was, however, not familiar with the very latest literary fashions, as his neglect of the pastoral seems to show.

In order to apportion his indebtedness to various periods and writers, we must take a close look at the *St Peter* pieces, and deal in succession with the several groups into which they quite naturally fall, some of them in fact giving a hint of this division by their very sequence in the

printed editions. The most clearly defined of these groups is made up of six "wisdom" poems, the basis for which is supplied by those common-places of ancient philosophy, which we have already met with in the *Triumphs*. The very titles are suggestive : *Tymes goe by turnes*, *Fortune's falsehoode*, *Scorne not the leaste*, *Content and ritche*, *Losse in delays*, *From fortunes reach*.¹ The poets of the Henrician school had already sung, now in a religious mood, now in the name of mere commonsense, the praise of moderation and contentment, of an equal balance of the mind in the face of fortune's fickleness. The regular ebb and flow of good and bad luck ought, they said, to fortify man's mind both against the lures of prosperity and the onslaught of calamity. Besides it is mere prudence to refrain from high desires, and to be satisfied with a sufficiency; for, in Surrey's words,

The lofty pine the great wind often rives ;
With violenter sway fallen turrets steep ;

Lightnings assault the high mountains and clives [cliffs].²
On the other hand, those who live in lowliness may, through a turn of Fortune's wheel, rise much higher than those who lorded it over them. Gascoigne thus comments on one of his favourite devices, *Spreta tamen vivunt* :

Despyed things may live, although they pine in payne :
And things ofte trodden under foote, may once yet rise againe.
The stone that lieth full lowe, may clime at last full hye :
And stand a loft on stately towr's, in sight of every eye.
The cruell Axe which felles the tree that grew full straight :
Is worne with rust, when it renewes, and springeth up on height.
The rootes of rotten Reedes in swelling seas are seene :
And when ech tide hath tost his worst, they grow againe ful greene.³

Nor are these isolated instances. The same trite themes, illustrated with the same trite images, appear again and again in the works of Wyatt⁴, of Surrey⁵, of Vaux⁶, of the uncertain authors of *Tottel's miscellany*.

¹ *Complete poems*, GROSART'S ed., pp. 64-65, 66-68, 68-69, 72-74, 75-77, 94-95.

² *The poems of Henry Howard*, ALDINE ed., p. 57.

³ *The complete works of George Gascoigne*, ed. by John W. CUNLIFFE, vol. I, p. 89.

⁴ *The poems of Sir Thomas Wyatt*, ed. by A.K. FOXWELL, Epigram 10, p. 50; poems written after 1536, N° 3, p. 157; and *passim*.

⁵ *The poems of Henry Howard etc.*, ALDINE ed., p. 56, *The means to attain happy life* (translation of an epigram of Martial).

⁶ *The poems of Sir Walter Raleigh etc.*, ed. by J. HANNAH, p. 131, *Of the meane estate*. It is worthy of note that this poem is written in a distinctly religious vein; it is the more likely to have served as a model for Southwell, as he knew the Vaux family.

⁷ *Tottel's miscellany*, ARBER'S ed., (English reprints, xxiv), p. 129, *They of the meane estate are happiest*; p. 154, *The pore estate to be holden for best*; p. 255, *Of the golden meane*; and two pieces on Fortune, pp. 134 and 137.

They form the background to Southwell's "wisdom" lyrics. Compare with the above-quoted passages the first stanza of *Times goe by turnes* :

The loppèd tree in tyme may growe agayne ;
Most naked plants renewe both frute and floure ;
The soriest wight may find release of payne,
The driest soyle sucke in some moystning shoure ;
Tymes goe by turnes and chaunces chang by course,
From foule to fayre, from better happ to worse.⁸

Both this stanza and that which follows might seem as far from true Christian fervour as some parts of the *Triumphs* ; but here Southwell does not fall into the same mistake as his forerunners; he does not consider the "golden mean" and the advisability of wise contentment as sufficiently inspiring themes for the sublime flight of lyrical poetry. He relieves the dryness of their selfish prudence by interpreting them in a religious sense :

Thus with succeding turnes God tempereth all,
That man may hope to rise yet feare to fall.⁹

The process of transformation through which the Jesuit succeeds in putting a Christian construction upon the self-centred ethics of Stoic equanimity, is strikingly illustrated in one particular instance. His poem *Content and ritche* is an adaptation of Dyer's lyric, *My mind to me a kingdom is*. He clearly acknowledged his debt — if other proof were wanting — by making use, in the course of his own composition, of Dyer's title and chief motive, in a slightly altered form,

My mind to me an empire is.¹⁰

Now it is curious and — with all due respect to the poet's memory — almost amusing to see him keep the outward shell of his model, but thoroughly empty it of its contents, and replace them by matter of an altogether different description. Dyer's lyric is graceful and trippingly musical, but its thought is in no way original. It expresses the attitude of the Stoic who, unallured by pleasure, undismayed by pain, seeks happiness in the enjoyment of his own proud serenity. The first lines set the tune :

My mind to me a kingdom is,
Such present joys therein I find,
That it excels all other bliss
That earth affords or grows by kind :
Though much I want which most would have,
Yet still my mind forbids to crave.¹¹

⁸ *Complete poems*, GROSART's ed., p. 64.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

¹¹ *The poems of Sir Walter Raleigh etc.*, ed. by J. Hannah, p. 149.

The poet "yelds as thrall", neither to covetousness, nor to the lust of power, nor to the charm of beauty. "My mind, he says, doth serve for all." He fears the fate and fall of those who climb too high; he therefore prefers to "seek no more than may suffice," all the satisfaction he needs being provided by himself :

Lo, thus I triumph like a king,
Content with that my mind doth bring.¹²

Being sparing of his desires, he is in fact "rich with little store." In regard to other men, he yields neither to envy nor compassion ; and remembering Martial's epigram, previously Englished by Surrey, he translates the line

Summum nec metuas diem, nec optes¹³

thus asserting that death itself can breed in him neither longing nor fear :

I loathe not life, nor dread my end.¹²

After again stating that his only pleasure is "to maintain a quiet mind," Dyer proudly concludes by emphasizng the moral value of his attitude :

My wealth is health and perfect ease :
My conscience clear my chief defence ;
I neither seek by bribes to please,
Nor by deceit to breed offence :
Thus do I live ; thus will I die ;
Would all did so as well as I !¹²

Every one of the above ideas reappears in Southwell's *Content and ritche*, the very title of which recalls one of Dyer's stanzas. Only together with the poison, the Jesuit provides the antidote — an antidote which not merely makes pagan philosophy innocuous, but even enlists it in the service of God. The first stanza is a profession of faith :

I dwell in Grace's courte,
Enrichd with Vertue's rightes ;
Faith guides my witt ; Love leads my will
Hope all my mynde delights.¹⁴

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 150.

¹³ MARTIAL, *Epigrammatum* lib. X, XLVII, l. 13.

¹⁴ *Complete poems*, GROSART'S ed., p. 72.

The Christian character of the piece being thus made clear, every one of Dyer's motives is taken up in its turn. We hail old acquaintances on our way :

My poore estate is ritch...
 My conscience is my crowne,
 Contented thoughts my rest ;
 My hart is happy in it selfe,
 My blisse is in my breste.
 Enoughe, I reckon welthe,
 A meane the surest lott,
 That lies too highe for base contempt,
 Too lowe for envye's shott.
 My wishes are but fewe...¹⁴

Two lines of Dyer's poem

I laugh not at another's loss ;
 I grudge not at anothers pain¹⁵ ;

are expanded into one of Southwell's stanzas, with a curious and characteristic inversion of the sense, which becomes more humane :

I envye not their happ,
 Whome favour doth advance ;
 I take no pleasure in their payne,
 That have lesse happy chaunce.¹⁶

Indeed, the Jesuit does not allow his Christian gloss to be lost to view. He does praise the golden mean, but for strictly religious motives :

Spare diett is my fare,
 My clothes more fitt then fine ;
 I knowe I feede and cloth a foe
 That pampred would repine.¹⁶

and his indifferency to wordly pleasure and pain is not due to pride and self-sufficiency, but to the sense of a higher purpose in life

I have no hopes, but one,
 Which is of heavenly raigne ;...
 My mynd to me an empire is,
 While grace affordeth helth.¹⁷

Unfortunately Southwell's attempt falls short of its purpose. The two conflicting elements in his poem are not really blended ; the Christian

¹⁵ *Poems of Raleigh* etc., p. 150.

¹⁶ *Complete poems*, GROSART'S ed., p. 74.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

commentary is artificially superadded, and the whole looks like a piece of clumsy veneering. Nor is there any development or harmony about the sequence of ideas. Though we cannot ascertain the exact date of the piece, it must be considered as the work of a beginner. But even about the Jesuit's most striking failures, there is always a redeeming quality, where his own gentle nature bursts through his self-imposed artificiality. A couple of such touches appear here. It is needless, he says, to try and persuade an opponent in his anger; but when the storm is over,

I turne a late enraged foe
Into a quiett frende.¹⁷

and again, there is nothing haughty or scornful about his "indifference" to Fortune's changes :

When Fortune smyles, I smile to thinke
How quickly she will frowne.¹⁶

It would be easy to point out, either in *Content and ritche*, or in the poems of the same group, further reminiscences, either of Dyer's famous lyric, or of *Tottel's miscellany*. In fact some images are so hackneyed that it is scarcely possible to discover a line of descent ; they are part of the atmosphere which all poets of a given period breathe. Petrarch was meat and drink to those of the sixteenth century in England. He had written in one of his sonnets :

Vivo sol di speranza, rimembrando
Che poco umor già per continua prova
Consumar vidi marmi e pietre salde...¹⁸

Wyatt, following in his wake, used the same simile :

Processe of tyme worketh such wonder,
That water, which is of kynd so soft,
Doeth perse the marbell stone a sonder
By litle droppes faling from a loft¹⁹

In a short piece of *Tottel's miscellany*, the unknown author explains how "length of time consumeth all thinges," and how water "holoweth hardest flint."²⁰ Southwell may have had this line in his ear — or again he may have remembered Petrarch, or Wyatt, or both, when he wrote, in the poem headed *Losse in Delaye* :

Droppes do perce the stubborne flynte,
Not by force but often fallinge...²¹

¹⁸ *Rime di Francesco Petrarca*, ed. cit., p. 227, Sonetto ccvi.

¹⁹ *Poems of Sir Thomas Wyatt*, ed. by A.K. FOXWELL, p. 155 (Poems written after 1536, N° 2).

²⁰ *Tottel's miscellany*, ARBER'S ed., p. 228.

²¹ *Complete poems*, GROSART'S ed., p. 76.

In a word, the Jesuit's "wisdom" lyrics are the meeting-point of many waters, which had all sprung from the same fountainhead, but followed different courses; running now through the Italian, now through the English, Renaissance; and lastly borrowing the channel offered to them by the plan of education of the Society. Besides, the lesson they taught tallied with one of the poet's own moods. No wonder, therefore, that they should occupy such a prominent place, a place to which, if truth be told, they are scarcely entitled by their literary value

* * * * *

These conclusions, in fact, hold good as regards the whole of Southwell's early lyrics : the tastes and habits he had acquired in Italy had already penetrated to England, where he found them in full force on his return. Extreme wariness should therefore be exercised before inferring imitation from resemblance. Nor shall we, in regard to the poems which now come under consideration, assert that, in any particular case, the Jesuit followed his contemporaries rather than Petrarch and his school. But repeated likeness cannot be the effect of mere chance. It must be intentional, as in the "life" poems, which are four in number : *Life is but losse, I dye alive, What joy to live, Life's death, love's life*.²² We have shown that these were variations on one or two conceits centering round the words "life," "death," and "love." Leaving aside for the present the question of the feeling which inspires them, we must notice that they are by far the most precious of Southwell's compositions. The whole of *Life's death, love's life* is an unbearably elaborate piece of verbal legerdemain, in which the above-mentioned nouns and their corresponding verbs appear and disappear in turn like a juggler's coloured balls. All of the four pieces are built of "contraries," generally paired by half-lines. Now some fifteen years before, there had appeared, in the works of George Gascoigne, a series of lyrics which, it is true, referred to profane love, but which ran on the very same puns.²³ They contain such lines as :

I live in love, even so I love to live...
Love lendeth life, which (dying) cannot dye,
Nor lyving live : and such a life leade I...²⁴

I live and lacke, I lacke and have :
I have and misse the thing I crave. ²⁵

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 81-83, 84, 85-86, 86-87.

²³ *Works of George Gascoigne*, ed. by J.W. CUNLIFFE, p. 39 (*The passion of a lover*); p. 41 (*A straunge passion of a lover*); p. 42 (*The divorce of a lover*); p. 46 (*Certaine verses... to a Gentlewoman...*); p. 50 (*An other Sonet...*).

²⁴ *Ibid.*, ed. by J.W. CUNLIFFE, vol. 1, p. 40.

²⁵ *Ibid.* p. 41.

The same conceits, couched almost in the same words, are found in Southwell's "life" lyrics :

Not where I breath, but where I love, I live;
Not where I love, but where I am, I die...²⁶

For that I love I long, but that I lacke;
That others love I loath, and that I have...²⁷

The likeness between the "life" pieces and current poetry is even more striking in those passages in which the writer expresses his longing for death, and which therefore seemed to Grosart most pathetic. Weariness of this world and all its false joys had been a common theme in amorous verse since the days of Petrarch. In *Tottel's miscellany*, the unknown author of a short poem wishes for the end of his wretched days. The refrain of the piece runs thus :

Wherefore come death, and let me dye,²⁸

while this apostrophe occurs in it :

Come gentle death, the ebbe of care...²⁸

In a slightly different vein, Gascoigne lamented his "dying life" :

Thus in thy lookes my love and life have hold,
And with such life my death drawes on a pace...²⁹

and the same theme was to appear again in a short piece of another court poet, whom Southwell knew and "adapted," Nicholas Breton :

Loe thus I liue, but looking still to die...³⁰

Compare the above lines with these, out of the "life" pieces :

Come, cruell death, why lingrest thou so longe?...³¹
I live, but such a life as ever dies...
Thus styll I dye, yet still I doe revive...³²

Further quotations might be brought in here; but it would be tedious to enlarge on an obvious fact, namely that Southwell made use, in order

²⁶ *Complete poems*, GROSART'S ed., p. 84.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

²⁸ *Tottel's miscellany*, ARBER'S ed., p. 132.

²⁹ *Works of Gascoigne*, ed. cit., p. 46.

³⁰ *Phoenix Nest*, ed. by Hugh MACDONALD, p. 64; cf. also p. 45.

³¹ *Complete poems*, GROSART'S ed., p. 82.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 84.

to express his love of God, of the phraseology and conceits generally applied to the love of woman. Nor was this borrowal and transposition confined to words alone; it also extends, as in the case of *St Peters complaint*, to those feelings and reflections which are the commonplaces of amorous poetry. The lover's lamentations over the fickleness of woman and his own uncertain fate; his alternate fits of hope and despair; his exultation when in favour, his woe-begone complaints when out of it; his prayers for mercy; his soliloquies amidst the woods, rocks and springs, which he begs to witness how deeply enamoured he is, and how harshly treated; his remorse at having fallen a victim to such a deceitful feeling, and resolve to forsake it for ever; his warnings to other wooers, lest they fall into the same trap; his endlessly gushing tears, and exhortations to himself to weep on; his passionate requests to death to put an end to his sufferings and grant him the only peace he can henceforth aspire to; all these reappear in a religious garb. Love's thrall now becomes the Christian who bewails his sins; who decides to weep for evermore, since no depth of contrition can make up for the hatefulness of his offence; who bemoans his own wretchedness in the midst of desolate landscapes; who warns his neighbours of the vanity of worldly love, of the transiency of all beauty; who exhorts them to embrace the only true, worthy and happy love, which is that of Christ; who eagerly waits for the coming of eternal life and the full enjoyment of God.

Now it is clear that these devotional feelings can exist independently, and in fact they pervade the whole of Southwell's lyrics; but we are only concerned here with those poems in which, following in the wake of Italian Counter-reformation writers, he openly imitates the English love poets of his own time. These pieces include *Love's servile lot*, *Lewd love is losse*, and *Love's gardyne greife*³³; but by far the most striking and interesting case of adaptation is that of Sir Edward Dyer's *Phancy*, which Southwell merely touched up in order to turn it from a lover's lament into a *Sinner's complainte*.³⁴ That minor alterations should have effected such a purpose is by no means surprising. Where worldly courting is understood as a kind of worship, it may easily be tranferred to God. In his poem, which is light and airily pretty, Dyer expresses the feelings of a forsaken lover. Let him, he says, who is really wretched come and bewail his fate with me; I refuse the company of those whose sorrow is tempered with any solace; my own grief is like death, not the death of the body, which would mean release, but the death of the mind. My thoughts and memories prick

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 78-81, 90-91, 92-93.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 96-102, and *Miscellanies of the Fuller Worthies Library*, vol. iv, Dyer pp. 25-31; also in *Poems of Raleigh etc.*, ed. by J. HANNAH, pp. 154-159.

me like thorns and bleed like wounds. I remember what favour I once enjoyed. Yet "I look for no relief"; for there is nothing assured in this world :

Behold, heere is the end,
And nothing heere is sure :
Ah nothinge ells but plaints and cares
Doth to the world enduer...³⁵

I have been forsaken, and another man is now in my place. Why, then, does love seem so pleasant, that death itself is sweet for its sake ? That it brings misery is too true in my case. Yet I cannot hate "the faulty one"; "I gave my word" and cannot recall it.

Hers still remaine must I,
By wronge, by death, by shame;
I cannot blot out of my minde
That loue wrought in her name...

Syth then it must be thus,
And thus is all to ill,
I yeelde me captiue to my curse,
My harde fate to fulfill.³⁶

I must give myself up to my grief, live in "the solitary woods," on a "bed of craggy rock," without any music to listen to but that of the "shrieking owl." And though I use the "feigned style" of the poet, my grief is but too real.

Now substitute for Dyer's lady-love the grace of God; for the lover's disfavour and pain, the sinner's fall and remorse; and a few slight alterations will be enough to turn the famous *Phancy* into a devout poem. Let him, Southwell writes, who has failed in hope and faith lament with me; I sadly remember my former state of grace, and my fall from virtue. The thought of the past darkens the present. I am "unworthy of relief" :

Behould, such is the ende
That pleasure doth procure,
Of nothing els but care and plaint
Can she the mynde assure.³⁷

³⁵ *Miscellanies*, vol. iv. Dyer p. 26, st. 19; and *Poems of Raleigh* etc., p. 157.

³⁶ *Miscellanies of the Fuller Worthies Library*, vol. iv, Dyer pp. 29-30, st. 27 and 31; and *Poems of Raleigh* etc., ed. cit., p. 158.

³⁷ *Complete poems*, GROSART's ed., p. 99.

I have forsaken grace, and others have gained it in my place. Yet
I cannot forget my vow to my Lord :

Yett God's must I remayne,
By death, by wronge, by shame;
I cannot blott out of my harte
That grace wrote in His name...

But since that I have synnd,
And scourge none is too ill,
I yeld me captive to my curse,
My hard fate to fulfill.³⁸

The *Sinner's complaint* ends up, like the *Phancy*, with a resolve to spend dreary days in solitude — but the intention is now to make amends for bygone trespasses.

There seems to be, in the same group, another case in which Southwell tried to take advantage of a prevailing fashion, and of the fame of a brother-poet, in the interests of his religious apostolate. In the *Phoenix Nest*, which though published in 1593 embodied much earlier material, there is included a poem by N. B., *i. e.*, by Nicholas Breton, entitled the *Garden Plot*. It is an elaborate description of an allegorical garden, the garden of grief, divided up into "four quarters," those of love, care, friendship and maidenhood. This piece is an exceedingly weak production, which makes poor sense; and it would scarcely be creditable to Southwell's taste to suggest that he "imitated" stanzas of the following type :

My garden ground of grieffe : where selfe wils seeds are sowne,
Whereof comes vp the weedes of wo, that ioies haue ouergrown :
With patience paled round, to keep in secret spight :
And quickset round about with care, to keepe out all delight...³⁹

Nevertheless, we cannot help being struck by the fact that the Jesuit indulges in a similar mood and brings in similar details, in his *Love's gardyne greife*. The garden he pictures is no less sorrowful a place than in Breton's poem, but it owes its desolate aspect to "vayne loves."

Your garden, grief hedgd in with thornes of envye
And stakes of strife;
Your allies, errour gravelled with jelosye
And cares of life;
Your bancks, are seates enwrapt with shades of sadnes;
Your arbours, breed rough fittes of raging madnes.⁴⁰

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 100-101.

³⁹ *Phoenix Nest*, 1593 ed., p. 21.

⁴⁰ *Complete poems*, GROSART'S ed., p. 92.

The allegory is abstract and dry, too regularly parallel; yet there is no denying Southwell's superior skill, both in regard to the clearness, composition, or to the musical quality of the lines and stanzas. Indeed, our frequent references to his scheme of religious "adaptation" should not lead us to consider him as lacking in original talent, or at best able to follow lamely in the tracks of others. There are touches of true poetical genius even about those pieces which he merely plasters up, and when left to himself, he is at least able to hold his own against his contemporaries on their own ground. In *Love's servile lot*, he describes the drawbacks and pangs of earthly wooing, of which the sweet soon disappears, while the sour lasts; and the following graceful stanzas illustrate the idea :

May never was the month of love,
 For May is full of floures;
 But rather Aprill, wett by kinde,
 For love is full of showers...

With soothing wordes enthralled soules
 She cheynes in servile bandes;
 Her eye in silence hath a speche
 Which eye best understands...⁴¹

In one case even, Southwell, far from inverting love poetry or converting it to a different use, applied it directly and in its entirety to a religious occasion. In *Josephe's amazement*, he describes the agitated feelings of Mary's husband on finding her with child. Just like the deserted lover of Italian and English tradition, he is a prey to perpetual misgivings, and unable to decide whether his resentful jealousy or his adoring trust will gain the upper hand. Like Dyer's forsaken wooer, he wanders away to the "wildes," and gives vent to his sorrow in the following beautiful lines :

Like stockèd tree whose branches all do fade,
 Whose leaves do fall and perisht fruite decaie;
 Like herb that growes in colde and barrayne shade,
 Where darkenes drives all quickninge heate away;
 So dye must I, cutt from my roote of joye,
 And throwen in darkest shades of deepe annoye.⁴²

To cope with such a theme, supreme good taste was required; a quality in which Southwell was seldom found deficient. On the other hand, the subject was too much of this world for the Jesuit's genius to play freely in. However great his sense of colour and plastic imagination,

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 79-80.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 125.

however humanly loving his heart, he was best at ease when his soul rose towards the sublimity of God. His yearning for the world above is best revealed in *Lewd love is losse* :

Misdeeming eye ! that stoopest to the lure
Of mortall worthes, not worth so worthy love;
All beauty's base, all graces are impure,
That do thy erring thoughtes from God remove.⁴³

Beauty, love, are "base," so long as they drag man downwards; but as soon as they lift him upwards, they are high and divine. All that is spiritually good — and especially man's soul in the state of innocence or grace — is also beautiful. Such is the gist of Southwell's christianized "Platonism," to which we shall now turn.

* * * * *

In the course of the previous chapters, a number of hints have been dropped, like loose threads which must now be plaited together, in order to combine into a coherent whole. We might have enlarged upon the fact that Southwell disagreed with Diego de Estella's notion of man's soul as utterly worthless and ugly before it was reclaimed⁴⁴; but we have shown how he insisted upon its natural fairness, which was enough to win God to redeem it⁴⁵; how deeply he felt the beauty of natural things as a reflection of that of God.⁴⁶ Now one might not unreasonably try to account for this general attitude by the keenness of his artistic perceptions and by his religious upbringing in an atmosphere of deliberate spiritual optimism. The explanation, however, is not wholly satisfactory; and several parts of the Jesuit's works, amongst others some of the *St Peter* pieces — the mystical group — bring proof positive that another influence was at work, that of the Italian neo-Platonism of the XVth and XVIth centuries. That he should have drunk at such a spring should give rise to no wonder : the varied character of the intellectual nourishment partaken of by the members of the Society merely bears witness to its combined broadmindedness as regarded the means, and steadfastness as regarded the end. This of course led to no less curious and occasionally preposterous forms of "adaptation" in philosophy than in poetry. But as a matter of fact, the Jesuits were not the first to make thus free with the thinkers of antiquity. In the latter half of the fifteenth century, the Florentine Marsilio Ficino, who was a sound and devout Christian, a sedulous preacher and a dutiful priest, had attempted to blend with Christianity

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

⁴⁴ See above, Chapt. iv and ix.

⁴⁵ See above.

⁴⁶ See above, Chapt. iv.

both the earlier and later forms of Platonism. The influence of the Academy founded by Cosimo de Medici was widespread, and it was not yet nearing exhaustion at the time of Southwell's stay at Rome. The Jesuit always remained thoroughly orthodox, and never allowed Platonism, as a set and logical body of doctrine, to interfere with his Christian beliefs. But he could not help breathing it in as an influence with the very air of Italy; especially as it agreed with his own mystical leanings; for it was averse to all sensuousness, to all material grossness and took delight in the contemplation of spiritual objects. To some extent, therefore, Christianized neo-Platonism may be said to provide the key to what is most typical and admirable in his verse. As a matter of fact, there was more in common between this form of Pagan philosophy and the teachings of the Gospel than might appear from a comparison of their positive assertions. The former was, in any case, deeply religious in spirit, and to this spirit the Jesuit remained true. Spenser, who was to turn Platonism to poetical account some years later in his *Fowre hymnes*, was not equally winged for spiritual flights; his sensuousness is but ill-concealed by a mysticism that is of the mind merely, not of the heart; no real rapture is felt in his description of heavenly things. Southwell's intepretation of Plato's philosophy is therefore, in a way, the more faithful of the two.

At the same time, it must be owned that the Jesuit tampered with Platonic doctrines, and as he had done in the case of profane poetry, subjected them to a refining process. They dwelt much, though not always connectedly, on the part played by beauty, as an incentive to love, and by love itself, in the creation and harmony of the world. This aspect was eagerly seized on by the Italian Renaissance, and applied chiefly to the relations of man and woman. In such works as Baldassare Castiglioni's *Cortegiano*, human beauty was said to be the reflection of divine beauty; it was good in itself, and of necessity denoted virtue in the person gifted with it. Those whom it attracted were raised to the perception of the highest spiritual truths; and thus human love was but the first step towards the love of God. "Beauty — such are Bembo's words at the end of the book — is born of God, and is like a circle, of which goodness is the centre; and as there cannot be a circle without a centre, there can be no beauty without goodness; whence it follows that a bad soul seldom inhabits a fair body; and therefore outward fairness is a true sign of inward goodness..." The lover should worship the beauty of his mistress, not in its concrete reality, but in its abstract essence; and thus he will rise from the notion of personal delight to that of the eternal scheme of things.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ CASTIGLIONI, *Il cortegiano*, ed. by P. BACCI, *Classici italiani*, serie III, vol. III, pp. 353 sqq. : "Dico che da Dio nasce la bellezza, ed è come circolo, di cui al bontà

Now Southwell could not be expected to make such conclusions his own. His general attitude towards profane love is one of uncompromising denunciation. He never mentions it but as a dangerous snare, an allurements to man to forsake God. He keeps it out of the *Rule of good life*, though the gentle and wise lovingness of the directions *For the care of children* show what a gracefully dignified appearance it might have made there. It seems as if the Jesuit had been shy of the very thought, as if the sublimated character of his devotion made it impossible for him to deal even with its legitimate aspects; or again, as if reaction against the lewdness of the Renaissance had carried both his order and himself to the extremes of Puritanism. Therefore he was bound to replace the love of woman by the love of God, and to treat Platonism in the purely mystical spirit of Plotinus. As early as his Roman years, he had put a devotional construction upon the theory which made beauty and goodness one and the same thing. While still at the English college he penned a short fragment in which he wonders whether he ought to let himself be attracted by a "passion of fancye" towards a certain friend who was gifted a "lovely semblant" What was God's purpose, he asks, in granting him this "seemely shape" ? Did he mean to draw virtuous men to him, so as to work his salvation, or wicked men, so as to work his ruin ? "Did god beautifye his countenance for a meanes to blemishe his soule or did he sett a bayte in his eyes to wynne only those hartes that would worke his harme Why should I not rather iudge that god would bend by his fauoure good mennes inclination vnto him and marke him with this amiable collisance [sic] that whoso vewed his person myght desyre the lyke comelyness in his soule and thynck it there dutye to poure [sic] that he should be most lyke vnto god in goodness whom god hath made so lyke vnto him in goodlynesse."¹ This, of course, is unimpeachable from the Christian point of view; yet it is no less clear that the Jesuit has given a religious form to one of the philosophical problems which were handled in Roman literary circles.

In the course of the century, Italian Platonism spread to England. Southwell met with it anew, after his return from Rome, in the lyrical verse which he was trying to Christianize; for instance in the poems of Nicholas Breton, which to all appearances were already being circulated in manuscript form before the *St Peter* pieces were composed. There was much that was alike in the devotional temper of the two poets; for whatever may be said about Breton's Protestant patrons and acquaintances, there is an undoubtedly Catholic ring about his mysticism. The same philosophical and religious elements were blended in the case

è il centro; e però come non po esser circolo senza centro, non po esser bellezza senza bontà; onde rare volte mala anima bel corpo, e perciò la bellezza estrinseca è vero segno della bontà intrinseca..."

of either, and while there may have been no direct communication or reciprocal influence between them, such a combination was certainly suggested to both by their common environment. As the following quotations from Breton's lyrics show, the air was permeated with the Platonic and Plotinian notions of earthly beauty as a manifestation of divine beauty, and as an inducement to the love of God. In his *Prayse of humilitie*, Breton thus describes the virtue of lowliness :

It maketh beawty like the sunne to shine,
As if on earth there were a heau'nly light...⁴⁸

God is addressed, in the poem *Gloria in excelsis Deo*, as "Place of all beawtie; beawtie of all place"⁴⁹; and lastly, love is praised as being "Of heauen and earth the highest beawtie," in a piece which bears this characteristic title : *An excellent Poeme upon the longing of a blessed heart, which loathing the world doth long to be with Christ*.⁵⁰

Now all this is to be viewed rather as a mystical mood than as the consistent expression of philosophical tenets; and the same again applies to Southwell's ethereal lyric *At home is Heaven*. But in another poem, *Looke home*, the neo-Platonism of the Alexandrine school assumes a more definite shape. Plotinus, it will be remembered, had prescribed a mystical curriculum, though which the soul gradually rose to the vision of God. The lowest degree consisted in "the contemplation of corporeal things in their multiplicity and harmony," then the soul was to "retire into the depths of its own being," in which it found an emanation of the *νοῦς* "the world of ideas," itself the image of the original being. On the other hand, "the soul itself generated the phenomenal world," which remained "in perfect harmony," so long as "idea governed matter."⁵¹ It seems scarcely possible not to recognize the indirect influence of such notions in the opening stanzas of *Looke home*, which, failing such an interpretation, would appear as a meaningless medley of disconnected ideas :

Retyrèd thoughtes enjoy their owne delightes,
As beauty doth in self-behouding eye;
Man's mynde a mirrhour is of heavenly sightes,
A breife wherein all marveylls summèd lye,
Of fayrest formes and sweetest shapes the store,
Most gracefull all, yet thought may grace them more.

⁴⁸ *Select poetry, chiefly devotional, of the reign of queen Elizabeth*, ed. by Edward FARR, Parker society publications, vol. 36, p. 185.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 187.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 191.

⁵¹ We quote, for the sake of convenience, from the excellent article on Plotinus by Adolf HARNACK and John Malcolm MITCHELL in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, eleventh edition, vol. XIX

The mynde a creature is, yet can create,
 To Nature's paterns adding higher skill;
 Of fynest workes wytt better could the state
 If force of wytt had equall poure of will :
 Devise of man in working hath no ende;
 What thought can thinke an other thought can mende.

This cannot, of course, be considered as an exact exposition of Plotinism; it might be viewed independently from it, as an able and highly poetical description of the faculties of the mind. Yet, in these stanzas the influence of Alexandrine philosophy cannot reasonably be denied. Again, the very titles *Looke home*, *At home in heaven*, suggest a doctrine of original Platonism, according to which the soul had memories of a previous life, in which it had been acquainted with the perfect glory of God. On the whole, Southwell's rendering of the Greek philosopher's teachings is summed up in the following lines :

O soule ! do not thy noble thoughtes abase,
 To loose thy loves in any mortall wight;
 Content thy eye at home with native grace,
 Sith God himself is ravisht with thy sight;
 If on thy bewty God enamoured be,
 Base be thy love of any lesse then He.⁵³

Thy love ! These two words alone sum up most of what can be said about Southwell's greatness as a religious poet. There is little in common between this free outpouring of emotional feelings and the dry effort of the mind to lift itself up to supernatural levels on the wings of pure reason alone. Compare Southwell's mystical pieces with Spenser's exclamative oratory in the following lines, in which he describes the union of the soul with "Sapience," God's "soveraine dearling," and a memory of *Ecclesiasticus* :

Let Angels, which her goodly face behold
 And see at will, her soveraigne praises sing,
 And those most sacred mysteries unfold
 Of that faire love of mightie heavens King;
 Enough is me t'admyre so heavenly thing,
 And, being thus with her huge love possest,
 In th'only wonder of her selfe to rest...⁵⁴

How cold, how unconvincing, how frigidly allegorical, how aloof from man's heart ! How different from the sweet lovingness of *New prince*,

⁵² *Complete poems*, GROSART's ed., p. 65.

⁵³ *Complete poems*, GROSART's ed., p. 89.

⁵⁴ *Works of Spenser*, ed. by R. MORRIS, Globe edition, p. 604.

new pompe, of *New heaven*, *new warre*, from the solicitous remorsefulness of *Synne's heavy loade* ! Space forbids more than two quotations. In *New heaven*, *new warre*, Southwell addresses the angels, and entreats them to help and protect the newborn Christ :

Come to your heaven, yowe heavenly quires !
Earth hath the heaven of your desires;
Remove your dwelling to your God,
A stall is nowe His beste aboade;
Sith men their homage do denye,
Come, angells, all their fault supply.

His chilling could doth heate require,
Come, seraphins, in lieu of fire;
This little ark no cover hath,
Let cherub's winges His boody swath;
Come, Raphiell, this babe must eate,
Prouide our little Tobie meate.

Let Gabriell be nowe His groome,
That first tooke upp His earthly roome;
Let Michell stand in His defence,
Whome love hath linck'd to feeble sence;
Let Graces rocke, when He doth crye,
And angells singe his lullybye.⁵⁵

In *Synne's heavy loade*, the poet's tender concern for Christ, and his desire of union with him, are touchingly expressed :

O Lord ! my sinne doth overchardge Thy breste,
The poyse thereof doth force Thy knees to bowe;
Yea, flatt Thou fallest with my faultes oppreste,
And bloody sweate runnes tricklinge from Thy browe...

O prostrate Christ ! erect my coked minde;
Lord ! lett Thy fall my flight from earth obtayne;
Or if I still in Earth must nedes be shrynde,
Then, Lord ! in Earth come fall yet once againe...⁵⁶

We seem to have strayed far away from Greek philosophy; yet we are near it still. In regard to its influence upon Southwell, a contrast now clearly appears. Stoicism was but an ill-fitting garment for him; despite its seeming loftiness of feeling, it crawled along the earth, and could not provide the soul with any buoyancy. But the spirit of Platonism agreed wonderfully with the upward trend of Christian

⁵⁵ *Complete poems*, GROSART's ed., pp. 110-111.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 105-106.

humanism, and had endeared itself to Thomas More; it harmonized with the Jesuit's yearning for a purely spiritual existence, and with his blissful joy when in the presence of God. That this rapt serenity of the soul was deeply disturbed sometimes, the study of his last poems will now show; yet he always ended up with a brave lifting up of the heart to God.

* * * * *

Like the *Saint Peter* pieces, the *Maeoniae* are made up of several groups of poems, which are widely different in character. Before we come to the most arresting among these, something must be said of the class which is most important in regard to bulk, that which illustrates successive episodes in the lives of the Virgin Mary and of Christ. The plan of this series corresponds roughly to the chief dates of the Christian calendar. Southwell would therefore naturally seek inspiration in the liturgical pieces corresponding to those dates, especially in the Missal and in the Breviary. These provided him with passages of both Testaments, with Latin verse, and with quotations of the Fathers, all of them applied to particular feast-days. Some pieces, in fact, such as *The visitation*, closely paraphrase the Gospel narrative. The numerous lyrics which are devoted to the Virgin Mary borrow a good deal from her Litany or from the hymns composed in her praise. Take the opening stanza of *Our Ladie's Nativityte* :

Joye in the risinge of our orient starr,
That shall bring forth the Sunne that lent her light...
Load-starr of all engolfd in worldly waves,
The card and compasse that from shipwracke saves.⁵⁷

This is obviously a piece of poetical embroidery upon the phrase "*Stella matutina*" and upon the *Ave Maris stella*, from which the Jesuit borrowed — with relish apparently — the pious conceit on "Ave" and "Eva." Let us, for purposes of comparison, quote the well-known Latin stanza :

Sumens illud Ave,
Gabrielis ore,
Funda nos in pace,
Mutans Hevae nomen;

which was Englished thus by Southwell :

Spell Eva backe and Ave shall yowe finde,
The first beganne, the last reversd our harmes;
An angell's witching wordes did Eva blynde,
An angell's Ave disinchauntes the charmes...⁵⁸

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 117.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

Two of the poems which were too Catholic to be included in the *Maeoniae* belong to the same class. *Saint Thomas of Aquines hymne read on Corpus Christi daye* is professedly a translation of the *Lauda Sion salvatorem*; but *Of the blessed sacrament of the aulter* is, to some extent, a paraphrase of the same hymn, though more in the nature of a metrical — and curiously unpoetical — demonstration. Southwell was not at his best in the character of a schoolman; the following lines of *The conception of our Ladie* are of interest as illustrating his theological position, but deserve no better name than that of rhymed prose :

Fower onely wightes bredd without fault are nam'd,
And all the rest conceivèd were in synne;
Without both man and wife was Adam fram'd,
Of man, but not of wife, did Eve beginne;
Wife without touch of man Christ's mother was,
Of man and wife this babe was bredd in grace.⁵⁹

Many of the "Gospel" pieces are similar displays of devout "wit," or at any rate keep within the limits of a tranquil and almost dispassionate narrative. The greater the contrast therefore, when we are suddenly faced with powerful intensity of feeling in a group of four pieces — *Vpon the image of death*, *Man's civill warre*, *The prodygall chylde's soule wracke*, and *A vale of teares*. These, though dissimilar in most other respects, are steeped in the same gloomy atmosphere; and three of them at least deserve praise for lyrical qualities of a very high order. *Vpon the image of death* is Southwell's contribution to a class of poetry which had enjoyed great favour throughout the foregoing centuries. Man's mortality is one of the themes most frequently met with in medieval literature; though the strangely complex mood of those writers who bewailed it in their rhymes lend itself to no simple definition. From the first, there is mixed with the purely Christian thoughts called up by meditation on the transiency of man's life, a strain of self-pity, of wistful and yearning regret, which looks like an early form of romanticism, and is further enhanced by the recurrence of some doleful refrain. Instances will at once suggest themselves. Thomas de Hales seems to have been the first in English literature, to have deplored, in his *Luve ron*, the death of Pagan heroes mingled with Arthurian worthies, and the passing of their noble deeds. François Villon handles the same theme repeatedly in his *Grand testament*, though in a less devout spirit; but William Dunbar, who knew and possibly imitated Villon, reverts to a tone of religious

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 116. These lines, in which the immaculate conception and the virgin birth are so strangely mixed up, confirm what has been said above of Southwell's abhorrence of physical love.

warning. He also introduces haunting refrains into his versified meditations, as in the following instance :

Worthye Hector and Hercules,
 Forcye Achill and strong Sampson,
 Meik David and fair Absolone,
 Alexander of grit noblines,
 Hes playit thair pairtis, and all are gone
 At will of God that all thing steiris :
 Think, man, exceptioun thair is none,
*Sed tu in cinerem reverteris.*⁶⁰

It seems likely that Southwell was acquainted, if not with the above productions, at any rate with others of the same class, since he also used the same trick of repetition in *Vpon the image of death*. One should not forget, however, that he had a fondness for St Bernard, and knew his works well; and both Dunbar and he himself may have derived inspiration from the *Rhythmus de Contemptu mundi* of the abbot of Clairvaux. In this short poem the following well-known lines occur :

Dic, ubi Salomon, olim tam nobilis ?
 Vel ubi Samson est, dux invincibilis ?
 Vel pulcher Absalon, vultu mirabilis ?
 Vel dulcis Jonathas, multum amabilis ?
 Quo Caesar abiit, celsus imperio ?
 Vel Dives splendidus, totus in prandio ?
 Vel Aristoteles, summus ingenio ?⁶¹
 Dic, ubi Tullius, clarus eloquio ?

The likeness between this passage and two of the stanzas of *Vpon the image of death* is almost too striking to be fortuitous :

Not Salomon, for all his wit,
 Nor Samson, though he were so strong,
 No king nor person euer yet
 Could 'scape, but Death laid him along :
 Wherefore I know that I must die,
 And yet my life amend not I.
 Though all the East did quake to heare
 Of Alexander's dreadfull name,
 And all the West did likewise feare
 To heare of Iulius Caesar's fame,
 Yey both by Death in dust now lie;
 Who then can 'scape, but he must die ?⁶²

⁶⁰ *The poems of William Dunbar*, ed. by W. Mackay Mackenzie, Edinburgh 1932, p. 149, *Of manis mortalitie*.

⁶¹ *S. Bernardi... opera omnia*, in MIGNE, *Patrologia latina*, vol. CLXXXIV, col. 1315.

⁶² *Complete poems*, GROSART'S ed., pp. 156-157.

And yet Southwell's poem is not a mere imitation. It provides a new expression of the age-old thoughts on death of the *Book of Job*, of *Ecclesiastes* and *Ecclesiasticus*. It is as usual neat and clean-cut; and its effects are obtained at small verbal expense. The Jesuit's supreme art ends in supreme simplicity. What can be more moving than the pathetic homeliness of these lines :

The gowne which I do vse to weare,
 The knife wherewith I cut my meate,
 And eke that old and ancient chaire
 Which is my onely vsuall seate :
 All these do tel me I must die,
 And yet my life amend not I.

My ancestors are turnd to clay,
 And many of my mates are gone;
 My yongers daily drop away,
 And can I thinke to 'scape alone ?
 No,no, I know that I must die,
 And yet my life amend not I.⁶³

This, again, is "adaptation" of a kind; for though the lyrical "sehnsucht" be undoubtedly present here, though one feel the melancholy gliding back of the soul into the past upon the wings of cherished, thrilling memories, the sententious precept breaks in at the end almost with a jar, and makes it clear that the poet's intention is primarily to exhort and to admonish. The same may be said of *Man's civill warre* and the *Prodigall chylds soule wracke*, which are both variations, in the ballad metre, upon the same theme : the strife of vice and virtue, the darkness and loathsomeness into which the former drags man down, the pure aerial heights to which the latter lifts up the soul. We have not been able to find out any immediate source for either poem; but the images of the sea with which both begin clearly belong to the same family as the first few stanzas of *St Peters complaint*. Apart from its opening lines, *Man's civill warre* is made up of a series of dry moral precepts, of little lyrical value. The *Prodigall chyld's soule wracke* may be placed on a much higher level; but both poems are spoilt by the same fault. Human experience no doubt proves that what the world calls pleasure is at bottom indescribably dreary and sad. Yet if the poet's Christian hero is to deserve any credit for vanquishing evil, there must have been for him some real allurements in vice. But whereas the temptation of despair is powerfully expressed in such lines as the

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 156.

following, false delights do not there appear as bewitchingly attractive, and thus, where Milton's *Comus* achieves success, Southwell's attempt ends in failure :

The hellishe furies laye in wayte
To wynn my soule into their poure,
To make me byte at everye bayte,
Wherein my bane I might devoure...

Death and deceite had pitch'd their snares,
And putt their wicked proofes in ure,
To sincke me in despayring cares,
Or make me stoupe to pleasure's lure.⁶⁴

The mistake is only too natural on the part of a wholly innocent and noble soul, which has never dabbled in sensuousness, and which does not sometimes secretly gloat over the memory of forbidden joys. Like Bunyan, Southwell is unable to paint sin in other than dark colours; but when he does so, he finds at his disposal a surprising range of gloomy tints. In the *Prodigall chylde's soule wracke*, all the dreary shades of a lowering sky are suggested in the description of the tempest, while a sombre, though wild and breathless, energy, is imparted to it by the hurried succession of brief lines and stanzas :

I founde my selfe on every syde
Enwrappèd in the waves of woe,
And, tossèd with a toylsome tyde,
Could to no port for refuge goe.

The wrastling wyndes with raging blasts,
Still hold me in a crewell chase;
They breake my ankers, sayles and mastes,
Permitting no reposing place.

The boysterous seas, with swelling fludds,
On every syde did worke their spyte,
Heaven, overcast with stormy cloudes,
Deny'd the planets' guyding lyght.⁶⁵

The general effect is powerful, but vague; it is produced, not by picturesque realism, but by the heaping up of conventional epithets. In the *Vale of teares*, a kindred atmosphere is suggested by altogether different means. Indeed, the whole of the piece, when compared to Southwell's other poems, is strange and unexpected; so much so, indeed,

⁶⁴ *Complete poems*, GROSART'S ed., pp. 163-164.

⁶⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 162-163. The theme of "The Shpiwrack of Soules overloaded with sins" already appears in FR PARSONS' *Resolution* (1696 ed., p. 464).

that misgivings might be felt about its authorship. Might this possibly be another instance of "adaptation"? And yet no likely model appears in contemporary collections of verse. Besides we do not here meet with those inner discrepancies which are caused by an imperfect adjustment of the writer's religious purpose to a profane theme. Last of all, the poem strikes one as intensely personal, both in its descriptive and in its meditative parts. The "vale of tears" appears to us as a deep valley amidst high mountains, where only "pilgrimm wightes... passe with trembling foote and panting hart." Now Southwell had crossed the Alps and the Apennines twice, on foot or on horseback; and the poem most likely reveals the deep impression produced upon him by the wild, majestic and weird scenery in the neighbourhood of the St Gothard pass. The root-idea of the piece — the agreement between the sorrowful grandeur of the eternal hills and the mournfulness of the poet's own soul — was indeed no novelty; it may have been suggested to Southwell, for instance, by a sonnet of Sannazaro, later translated by Wyatt :

Simile a questi smisurati monti
E l'aspra vita mia colma di doglie;
Alti son questi, et alte le mie voglie;
Di lagrime ambedui, questi di fonti...
Soffian sempre fra lor rabbiosi venti,
In me gravi sospiri esito fanno...⁶⁶

However, the thrilling awe felt in the presence of high mountains is scarcely expressed here; the elaborate comparison between their abstract attributes and the passions of the soul is more in the nature of a conceit. Later on in the century, Erasmo di Valvasone, whose *Lagrime della Maddalena* were no doubt known to Southwell, described in an even more tritely conventional way the desolate retreat of Mary Magdalen :

Tra dure selue, et tra sassose rupi,
Oue human piè segnar l'herba non suole,
Hospitali magion d'horridi lupi,
Et d'augei, che notturni odiano il sole,
Sotto humil tetto d'antri ascosi, et cupi
Celato hauea le sue bellezze sole...⁶⁷

The flatness and hollow redundancy of such phrases as "sassose rupi" heightens our appreciation of Southwell's remarkably accurate picture

⁶⁶ SANNAZARO, *Rime*, part III, sonetto III (1531 ed.) quoted in *The poems of Sir Thomas Wyatt*, ed. by A.K. Foxwell, vol. II, p. 200. Wyatt's translation is found *ibid.*, vol. I, p. 31.

⁶⁷ VALVASONE, *Lagrime della Maddalena*, in TANSILLO's *Lagrime di S. Pietro*, ed. GENOVA 1587, fol. 166^a.

of an Alpine landscape. The first part of the *Vale of teares* must be quoted in full :

A vale there is, enwrapt with dreadfull shades,
Which thicke of mourning pynes shrouds from the sunne,
Where hanging clyftes yelde shorte and dumpish glades,
And snowy fludd with broken streames doth runne.

Where eye rome is from rockes to clowdye skye,
From thence to dales with stony ruyns strowd,
Then to the crushèd water's frothy frye,
Which tumbleth from the toppes where snowe is thowde.

Where eares of other sounde can have no choise,
But various blustringe of the stubborne wynde
In trees, in caves, in strayts with divers noyse;
Which now doth hisse, now howle, now roare by kinde.

Where waters wrastle with encountringe stones,
That breake their streames and turne them into fome,
The hollowe cloudes full fraught with thundring grones,
With hideous thumpes discharge their pregnant wome.

And in the horror of this fearefull quire
Consistes the musicke of this dolefull place;
All pleasant birdes their tunes from thence retyre,
Where none but heavy notes have any grace.

Resort there is of none but pilgrimm wightes,
That passe with trembling foote and panting hart;
With terrour cast in colde and shuddring frightes,
They judge the place to terror framed by art.

Yett Nature's worke it is, of art untowch't,
So straite in deede, so vast unto the eye,
With such disordred order strangely cowcht,
And so with pleasing horroure low and hye,

That who it vewes must needes remayne agaste,
Muche at the worke, more at the Maker's mighte;
And muse how Nature suche a plott could caste
Where nothing seemèd wronge, yett nothinge right.⁶⁸

Forget for one moment the quaintness of the vocabulary; every detail comes out with extraordinary vividness : the pine-clad slopes, the long-tailed waterfalls down the face of the cliffs, the perpetual shifting of

⁶⁸ *Complete poems*, GROSART's ed., pp. 158-159.

the wind, the rumbling of the thunder between hill-tops, the dead silence of the upper spaces above vegetation. We catch here another glimpse of that grasp of physical reality which, in the midst of foreign influences, marks Southwell off as definitely English. Further touches are no less felicitous :

The struggling floode betwene the marble grones,
Then roaring beates uppon the craggy sides;
A little off, amidst the pible stones,
With bubling streames and purling noise it glides...

Huge massy stones that hange by ticle staye,
Still threaten fall, and seeme to hange in feare;
Some withered trees, ashamd of their decaye,
Besett with greene are forc'd gray coates to weare.⁶⁹

Nor is the poet's lyrical mood less of a revelation to us than his gift of accurate, concise, telling description. The presence of the high hills has awakened all the latent romanticism in his soul. He takes delight in the "pleasing horror" of

A place for mated myndes, an onely bourne
Where everye thinge doth sooth a dumpish moode...
Where Sorowe springes from water, stone and tree;
Where everything with mourners doth conspire...⁷⁰

Yet, this pleasure taken by the soul in nourishing and renewing its own sadness, is little more than self-indulgence. Southwell feels it, and instantly bridles up. Here again he must adapt, in the noblest sense of the word; turn his yearning melancholy into the channel of unselfish devotion to God. Thus the poet's indefinable mournfulness becomes sorrow for his past sins; his solitude is now given up to the contrition and recollection of the hermit; and the *Vale of teares* ends as a lyric of remorse :

When eccho doth repeate thy playnefull cries,
Thinck that the very stones thy synnes bewray,
And nowe accuse thee with their sadd replyes,
As heaven and earth shall in the lat[t]er day.

Much is lost of the beauty of this unique song of the hills, if it be not read aloud. Nowhere else has Southwell so admirably fitted the music of the verse to its sense. The muffled weight of the words; the trailing sweep of the lines; the long, plaintive sound of the rhymes; all these

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 159-160.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

combine in harmony more austere perhaps, yet no less full and rich, than in Gray's famous *Elegy*. Add that it anticipates the romanticism of the latter by almost two hundred years; only Southwell, as a Christian and neo-classic, does not allow his lyrical moods to get the better of his will. All that savours of self must be offered up to God as a sacrifice.

The *Vale of Teares*, which in a way sounds so incredibly modern, is not unlike some of Wordsworth's poems in its association of the high thoughts of a pure and loving soul with the aerial solitude of the high hills; it may compare for exactness and for intensity of feeling with the finest descriptions in Shakespeare's plays; it may even be said to rise to a sense of the mysteriousness of nature, of the spiritual reality beyond material things, which Shakespeare never reached. Southwell was not thirty when he wrote this piece — undoubtedly his most valuable composition. His poetical personality, matured by the hardships of his jeopardous life, was beginning to assert its power. A rare combination of artistic beauty with moral greatness was in the making, and would soon have been perfect. The Queen felt it, and withheld her blow for a time. It was one of the saddest mistakes of her servants to bereave England of the young priest who might have been her greatest religious poet.

CONCLUSION

THE purpose of the above pages was mainly to account for the inspiration and the artistic success or failure of Southwell's works, by the religious ideal which they embody. It is now time that we should pause and look backwards to take stock of the results obtained. One broad fact emerges, namely that it is no more possible to understand Southwell apart from Counter-Reformation Catholicism, than Bunyan apart from Puritan Protestantism. Literature, in both cases, is but the expression of a spiritual and devotional temper. Yet there is a piece of common ground where religious and profane poetry and prose meet on equal terms, and are to be judged on the same merits. The soul has no language of its own : it must borrow the words and images which convey the most human and earthly feelings; this being especially true in the case of Jesuit "adaptations." Some of the elements of Southwell's style are in no way distinctive : his conceitism, his "wit," his similes of "fire" and "ice," are among the common features of the period; they are but one of the minor branches of a wide stream which had sprung long before him, and flowed on long after. It has been possible, however, to throw light upon a few points in which there is a correspondence between his religious upbringing and the outward form of his compositions. The first one is his preciosity, which should not, in the main, be mistaken for Euphuism. He adds nothing essential to classical oratory, as revived by the Society of Jesus, whereas Lyly, building upon the same foundation,, erects a structure of involved and fantastic quaintness, and deliberately oversteps the bounds of good taste. But still both have a common starting-point; and certainly, as far as we may ascertain in the case of Southwell, this starting-point is not to be found where it has been sought hitherto. At any rate, the Jesuit's stylistic masters were not merely the writers and orators of ancient Rome. The official literature of the Church was the most obvious channel through which classical oratory might descend to himself and to his contemporaries. The Latin liturgy had only been finally suppressed in 1559, and had no doubt left many memories behind among the non-Catholics; while it was still in use among the Catholics, whose whole lives it permeated. The *Breviary* supplied all

those who read it with daily extracts from the Vulgate and from the Fathers. Now all this liturgical literature embodied a belated form of the rhetorical ideal of the classics; and it was at hand for the majority of Englishmen far more than the works of Guevara or the speeches of Isocrates.

In the case of Southwell (though not of Southwell alone) this general view is borne out by facts. We have shown that the *Epistle of Comfort* derived much of its oratory from various patristic compositions; and that late patristic preciousness reappeared in an expanded form in *Mary Magdalens teares*. Nor should it be forgotten that the Latin literature of the Church derived many of its rhetorical habits — its parallelism, its balance, its rounded fulness — from the Bible itself, as translated in the Vulgate. The style of the Fathers and of the liturgy was primarily scriptural. Southwell and contemporary Catholic writers followed in the same lines. It is no doubt true that the biblical style of the Protestants had a colour of its own, due to the greater stress laid upon the prophetic part of the Old Testament. Nevertheless it is a fact that the Bible supplied as much of the substance of Catholic writings in the late sixteenth century as it did later of the *Pilgrim's progress*. What wonder, since the Rheims-Douay New Testament had appeared in 1582, whereas the authorized Bible only came out in 1611 ?¹ For all these reasons, it will not come as a surprise that Southwell's prose compositions should offer that mingling of mellow riches and sweet harmony, which is generally associated with Anglican literature. In fact, we know that the Anglican prayer-books of 1549 and 1552 were close imitations of the Latin liturgy². The source is in both cases the same, which accounts for the likeness ; and the conclusion can hardly be escaped that the so-called Anglican style is not the especial property of the Establishment.

The same applies to other supposedly Anglican characteristics. The root of the error lies in the fact that it is not generally realized how hard Catholicism died in England, and what a considerable influence the Counter-Reformation exerted in the field of devotional literature and practice. Long after the official disappearance of the "old religion," the general atmosphere remained Catholic. Even definitely Anglican or unbelieving writers bear witness to this persistency through their allusions. This was already true in the case of George Gascoigne, who, though a conformist and a devoted adherent of the Queen in peace and war, often expressed himself in words which savoured of the "old rel-

¹ *The New Testament of Jesus-Christ, translated faithfully into English...* In the English College of Rhemes, 1582.

² Card. F. A. GASQUET, *Edward VI and the Book of Common Prayer*, London 1891, passim.

igion."³ That the same applies to Shakespeare has been amply proved by canon Looten⁴. Many of the poems included in Farr's *Devotional poetry* — the collection of Elizabethan religious verse published by the Parker Society — betray similar influences.⁵

Nor was professedly Catholic literature at all a negligible factor. Southwell's works were reprinted many times up to the meeting of the Long Parliament, and he was only one of many. The specifically Jesuit conception of life and devotion was not represented by him only. The *Christian Exercise appertayning to Resolution*, later known as the *Christian Directory*, of Father Robert Persons, S. J., was an expansion of St Ignatius' *Exercises*; eight Catholic editions of it had appeared before 1622; but what is even more significant, it was amended by an Anglican scholar, so as not to clash with official theology, and published in this shape eight more times up to 1594.⁶ That such works as the *Rule of good life* — for it was not alone of its kind⁷ had a deep and lasting effect, is shown by the letters of direction of the Anglican divine John Duncon to the no less Anglican lady Lettice Howard, published in 1648; in these we find what might be called a plan for spiritual drill, in which successive meditation on the glory of God, on his justice and on his love, is accompanied by outward actions meant to increase the fervour of the soul; and the question of "sensible consolations" and of "barrenness" is dealt with at length⁸. Other instances might be quoted; it is in any case certain that the spirit of the "old religion," thanks to such writers as Robert Southwell, held out against the persecution much longer than is generally suspected.

Now it has been the contention of many representatives of the Church of England for generations past, that there was a specifically Anglican temper, in matters of worship, devotion and religious art. This temper is supposed to have been in full-blown existence in the reign of Charles I, and its description is found in the pages of *John Inglesant*. It unites piety with decency, mystical fervour with good taste; it is fond of beauty in liturgy and holy music, stained glass and stone; it

³ Cf. *Works of George Gascoigne*, ed. by John W. Cunliffe, vol. II, p. 37 (mention of a confessor); pp. 37 and 72 (swearing by the mass); pp. 73-74 (allusion to the University of Doway); p. 388 (consideration of the *quattuor novissima*); etc.

⁴ Chanoine C. LOOTEN, *Shakespeare et la religion*, Paris 1924, Part I.

⁵ Cf. above, Chapt. X, for Nicholas Breton.

⁶ De BACKER-SQMMERVQEL, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, tome VI, col. 294-298.

⁷ Cf. for instance, *An instruction how to pray and meditate well*, St Omers 1622, supposed to be a translation out of the Italian, but really, according to a MS. note in the British Museum copy, by Fr. Tho. Everard, S.J.

⁸ *The returnes of spiritual comfort and grief in a devout soul represented... to the Lady Latice, Vi-countess Falkland...* by John Duncon, 1648.

shrinks from the exuberance of Southern devotion, and the gaudy colours of Southern decoration. It is cultured and aristocratic. But in fact many of these features are already joined in Southwell's writings. His religion is no less refined in its outward expression, no less glowing in its raptures; it is averse, as in his rendering of the *Hundred meditations*, from Spanish or Italian excesses; and certainly good taste is one of its most striking features. Thus the combination of ecstatic mysticism and wise moderation in worship had existed, long before Anglicanism is supposed to have manifested its own particular spirit in literature and art. Does not the conclusion suggest itself, that the spirit of the Counter-Reformation, as introduced into England by Southwell and his fellow-missioners, spread to the Establishment and imparted to it some of its nature?

The same apparently applies to what in the English character at large is generally bound up with Anglicanism as above defined. Not that the influence of Southwell's writings and kindred compositions can be said to have moulded it; but they no doubt confirmed some of its native peculiarities. In any case, there is a surprising likeness between those virtues and qualities which are made most of by the English upper classes, and the conception of life which the Jesuit represented. This conception gradually emerges in clearly defined lines from a reading of his poems and prose works: moderation in action, restraint in the expression of feeling and in outward behaviour; no undue austerity of garb, gait or speech, but a staid seriousness tempered with cheerfulness; decency in prayer and worship; the avoidance of all excess, of anything glaring or blatant; refinement without pedantry in education, and well-bred heartiness in manners; the whole attitude not merely justified by reason and solid, substantial commonsense, but also inspired by the gentle lovingness of an understanding heart; what further features are needed to fill in the portrait of all that is best, most attractive, most cultured and mellowed, in the traditional character of the English upper classes? Jesuit action, remember, was conducted chiefly among the aristocracy; it affected not merely those noblemen and gentlemen who remained staunch throughout the persecution, but also those who, all through the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, gradually drifted into the State Church. They changed their allegiance, but not their acquired views and habits. They imported into the Establishment much that was really Catholic.

* * * * *

In so far as the above conclusions are based on fact, they can scarcely be escaped. The least that can be said is that one cannot rise from a perusal of Southwell's prose works, and not feel that the current theories

on the building and constitution of the English character must be accepted cautiously and guardedly : we mean the obsolete doctrine of "Protestant England," as propounded by J. R. Green and Taine, and the more subtle and tenacious view according to which the established Church is possessed of an original spirit of its own, not easily penetrable to non-Anglicans. Meanwhile it must be added that Southwell's prose writings are valuable, not merely on historical or psychological grounds, but also on account of their artistic beauty. The qualities they combine are seldom met with in such happy proportion : they retain just enough of English homeliness to be occasionally racy and graphic, just enough of classical elegance to be clear, neat and harmonious without pedantry, just enough of classical oratory to rise to the most forceful eloquence. With the exception of some early pieces of an Euphuistic cast, they combine plainness with plastic beauty, serenity with gravity and pathos. An occasional lapse into false wit or conventionality only serves as a foil to the easy gracefulness and the refined manliness of the whole.

The quality of Southwell's verse is not so uniformly sustained as that of his prose. For one thing, his poetical faculties could but be cramped by the practice of "adaptation" for pious purposes, which accounts for so much both in his Latin and English poems. The earlier among these are sometimes disfigured by those very conceits which Ben Jonson admired so much in the *Burning babe*. More frequently, they can be found fault with on account of the ideal they aim at : they comply too obediently with the directions of some of the Jesuit literary theorists ; they treat emotion and passion with distrust, and the highest achievement they have in view is skilfulness in the arrangement of ideas and words. The pleasure they provide is merely of an intellectual kind. Such a type of poetry need not be invariably or absolutely despised. Literary "wit", after all, has its own value ; and the mind can take some pleasure in observing close-packed thought neatly and aptly expressed. But even in his early compositions, Southwell was unable to repress his natural lyricism entirely ; the end of *St Peters complaint* makes rich amends for the beginning. Besides he had other poetical gifts of a very high order. He left prosodical craftsmanship, it is true, exactly where he had found it ; he invented no new metres, and merely followed in the footsteps of his forerunners. But he had the nicest musical ear, and knew how to fit sound to sense. Though on the whole we have but few specimens of his technique, we find him at ease with the most varied moods. The melody of his verse is as a rule sweetly wistful ; but he can rise to manlier harmonies. In course of time, other qualities appeared. His talent for description, his command of words, already foreboded in the "definition" stanzas, are strikingly revealed in the *Vale of teares*. He was fast gaining power when his career was interrupted ; and though his trial and execution are in the themselves a work of art

of supreme beauty, they deprived English literature of one who, while up till then a poet of the second rank, was bidding fair to take his place among the greatest.

When all has been said about the outward qualities of Southwell's verse, the essential remains to be told. The chief value of his poems lies less in their music, than in what they reveal to us of his soul. They are admirable on account of the writer's exceptional spiritual quality. They do not merely reflect the ethical and mystical temper of the Society of Jesus in the abstract; they are Southwell's own particular version of that temper, tinged with his own favourite moods. What the poet added to the rules and settled customs of his order is of twofold value, first as coming from an exceptionally gifted soul, and secondly as coming from an Englishman. When Counter-Reformation Catholicism had once set foot on English soil, all the giving could not be on its side ; there must needs be some of the taking too. Thus the "old religion," which had already had a colour of its own in pre-Reformation days, did not fall into grey uniformity with the rest of the Roman Church after the Council of Trent. What it brought to it that belonged nowhere else, Southwell's lyrics help us to understand. First, they retain little on the whole of the Murillo-like tints of St Ignatius' pictures. While the ugliness of sin is repeatedly stressed, the horrors of punishment are never dwelt on. Southwell chooses to hope for the best, to take a decidedly optimistic view of moral life. With this is connected his love of beauty, spiritual or material, and the Christianized neo-Platonism which he would not have so willingly translated into verse, if it had not concurred with his own inward bent. Again, there is, about his devotion, what seems to be a definitely English quality : he is unwilling to view God, the Virgin Mary, the Angels, the Saints, in an intellectual and impersonal light, and delights in humanizing them, in bringing them into actual existence upon earth, in surrounding them with real objects, in making them into daily friends and companions. His fondness for the beauty of things thus associates with his upward longings. Again, there is something sweetly tender and almost feminine in his love of God, which reminds us as well of pre-Reformation mysticism, as of Fr F. W. Faber's poems. Last of all, he often falls into a "dumpish mood", a state of ill-defined, causeless melancholy ; he naturally enough ascribes it to remorse, but who would credit his reference to his "crimes" and "follies ?" Does it not rather look like that old, old sinking of the heart of the *Wanderer*, in the face of the mystery of life, of the infinitude of earth, sea and sky ? Thus, in his devotion as well as in his style, the leading Catholic writer of the Elizabethan age achieved that combination of the purely English with the classical, of lyricism with discipline, which checks exaggeration on either side, and remains one of the finest products of the human mind and heart.

APPENDIX I

BIOGRAPHICAL SOURCES

1. — *Original documents*

a/ Southwell's correspondence.

Letters published in vol. v of the *Catholic Record Society publications*, pp. 293-333, together with English translation by Fr. John Hungerford Pollen, S. J.

1580, October, Southwell to John Deckers. (Latin)

1582, early, Southwell to Fr. Robert Persons. (Italian)

1584, February 3rd, Southwell to the Provincial of Naples. (Italian)

1586, May 26th, Southwell to Father Agazario. (Italian)

1586, May 26th, Southwell to Father Agazario. (Italian)

1586, 25 July/Aug 4th, Southwell to Fr Claude Acquaviva. (Latin)

1586, December 21st, the same to the same. (Italian)

1586, July 25 th/Aug 4th, Southwell to Fr Claude Acquaviva. (Latin)

1587, February 20th, Fr Acquaviva to Fr Southwell. (Latin)

1588, August 31st, Southwell to Fr Claude Acquaviva. (Latin)

1590, January 16th, the same to the same. (Latin)

Without date or name of addressee : a fragment in Italian. Those letters are printed from Fr Greene's MS *Collectanea* at Stonyhurst, the Westminster Archives, or the General Archives S.J. All particulars re. MSS etc in *C.R.S. loc. cit.*

b/ Other letters to or from Southwell.

1580, September 27th, John Deckers to Southwell, Stonyhurst MSS, Anglia A, vol. i.

1583, George Haydock to Southwell. The existence of this letter is known through a reference of Fr Christopher Greene in his MS *Collectanea* N. i at Stonyhurst College; it has not been possible to trace it.

1585, January 8th, Southwell to Leonard Lessius. Brussels, Archives du royaume, *Archives Jésuitiques, Flandro-Belgæ*, N° 1301 (Latin). Imperfect copy in the writing of Fr Van Lommel in the *Archiv. Prov. Neerl.* S.J.)

- 1585, January 23rd, Southwell to Fr Claude Acquaviva. Latin text in Fr Henry More, *Hist. Prov. Angl. S.J.*, p. 182.
- 1585, April 8th, Lady Copley to Southwell, Stonyhurst MSS, *Anglia* A.I., N° 25. (English)
- 1586, July 2nd, Southwell to John Deckers, Brussels, Archives du Royaume, *Archives Jésuitiques, Flandro-Belgæ*, N° 1529. (Latin)
- 1586, July 25th, Southwell to John Deckers *E portu*, appended to Deckers' *Narratio* (see below). (Latin)
- 1586, July 25th/Aug 4th, Southwell to Fr Agazario, abstract in Public Record Office, *State papers, Domestic, Elizabeth*, cxci, 119.
- 1589, April-May, Southwell to the Earl of Arundel after his trial (More, *op. cit.*, Latin text p. 182, "Inter familiares Epistola 39").

Undated letters :

Philip Howard, earl of Arundel, to Southwell from the Tower : several extracts of letters in *The lives of Philip Howard &c*, (see Bibliogr.) (Between April 14th, 1585 and June 24th, 1592) pp. 134-136, 137-138, 145, 147-148, 153, 154. Several of these letters were written during the earl's trial or just after. Southwell to an unknown priest, "de vitando vago viuendi genere", in More, *op. cit.*, p. 189 ("Inter familiares")

c/ Sundry documents on Southwell's biography :

Douay diaries.

Letter of Fr Parsons to Fr Campion, November 28th, 1578. (Stonyhurst MSS, *Anglia* i, 5.)

Southwell's oaths in the *Annales*, English College, Rome, in his own hand from December 2nd, 1581 (Fr Pollen's biographical notes in Farm Street House.)

Catalogus provinciae Romanæ S.J., anno 1584.

Letter of Fr. Parsons to Fr Agazario, January 22nd, 1584. Stonyhurst MSS, *Collectanea* P, 300.

Letter of the same to the same, March 24th, 1584, *Ibid.*, 301.

Letter of the same to the same, July 10th, 1584, *Ibid.*, 303.

Letter of the same to the same, August 20th, 1584, *Ibid.*, 461.

Letter of the same to the same, September 13th, 1584, *Ibid.*, 452.

Letter of D^r Barret to Fr Agazario, September 15th, 1584, Stonyhurst MSS, *Anglia* vi, p. 39.

Letter of Fr Parsons to Fr Agazario, same date, Stonyhurst MSS, *Collectanea* P, 301.

Letter of Fr Claude Acquaviva to Fr Parsons, October 22nd, 1584, General Archives, S.J., *Gall. Ep.* f. 60^b.

Letter of Fr Parsons to Fr Agazario, October 23rd, 1584, Stonyhurst MSS, *Collectanea* P, 452.

- Letter of D^r Barret to Fr Agazario, November 8th, 1584, *Ibid.*, *Anglia* vi, p. 43.
- Letter of Fr Parsons to Fr Agazario, July 12th, 1585, *Ibid.*, *Collectanea* P, 304.
- Letter of Fr Claude Acquaviva to Fr Parsons, same date, General Archives S.J., *Flandria, Ep. Gen.*, f. 83^b.
- Letter of D^r Barret to Fr Agazario, August 8th, 1585, Stonyhurst MSS, *Anglia* vi, p. 51.
- Instructions for Fr Garnet and Fr Southwell before their leaving for England, Marche 24th, 1586, *Ibid.*, A.V.1 (2).
- Letter of Fr Claude Acquaviva to Fr Costers, July 10th, 1586, Brussels, Archives du Royaume, *Jes.*, Cart. Varia 20.
- Letter of Fr Claude Acquaviva to Fr Christianus Dalmerius, same date, *Ibid.*
- State Papers, *Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. cxci, n^o 35 (Public Record Office).
- Letter of Fr Garnet to Fr Claude Acquaviva, September 1st, 1589, Stonyhurst MSS, *Collectanea* P, 555.
- Letter of the same to the same, March 2nd, 1590, *Ibid.*
- Letters of Fr Walpole to (Fr Creswell ?), August 24th, September 6th, October 11th, November 7th, 1590, June 28th, 1591, printed in *Letters* of Fr Henry Walpole S.J., ed. by Augustus Jessopp (Stonyhurst MSS, *Anglia* A.1, N^{os} 47, 48, 50, 51, 52, 59).
- Documents on Southwell and Pormort printed in C.R.S. v, pp. 188-190.
- A dispatch of Richard Verstegan, August 3rd, 1592, printed *ibid.*, p. 211.
- Letter of Fr Garnet to Fr Claude Acquaviva, July 16th/26th, 1592, printed in Foley's *Records of the English province S.J.*, vol I, p. 352-353 and C.M. Hood, *Book of Robert Southwell*, pp. 43-6.
- Letter of Fr Parsons to Fr Claude Acquaviva, 1592, General Archives S.J. *Hisp. Ep.* xxxiii, f. 80.
- Privy Council Registers*, xxiii, 71. July 28th, 1592.
- Gatehouse certificate of July 30th, 1592, printed in C.R.S., iv, p. 224.
- A despatch of Richard Verstegan, August 3rd, 1592, *Ibid.*, v, pp. 188-190.
- A letter of the same to Baines, August 22nd, 1592, Stonyhurst MSS *Anglia* I, 67.
- A letter of the same to the same, September 14th, 1592, *ibid.*, f. 121.
- Letter of Fr Parsons to Fr Garnet, October 10th, 1592, General Archives S.J., *Fland. Belg.* 1, p. 507.
- Letter of Topcliffe to Sir John Puckeringe, September 1592, in Public Record Office, *State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth*, vol. 243, n^o 26.

- Letter of Fr Claude Acquaviva to Fr Garnet, October 10th, 1592, General Archives S.J., *Fland. Belg.* 1, p. 507.
- Letter of Fr Garnet to Fr Claude Acquaviva, March 17th, 1593, Stonyhurst MSS., *Anglia* 1, 73; printed in Foley, *op. cit.*, vol. iv, 43 and Tierney's *Dodd*, vol. iii, 105.
- The examination of John Bolt, March 21st, 1593, quoted in Morris, *Life of Fr John Gerard*, ed. 1881, p. 158.
- Letter of Fr Parsons to Fr Claude Acquaviva, May 10th, 1594, General Archives, S.J., *Epist. Hisp.* 1593-1594, (*Hip.* 136).
- Letter of Fr Garnet of March 17th, 1594, quoted in Fr J.H. Pollen's notes at Farm Street (It has not been possible to find the original).
- Letter of Fr Garnet to Fr Parsons, November 19th, 1594, Stonyhurst MSS *Anglia* A.1 82.
- Indictment of Katherine Bellamy, in *Middlesex County Records*, p. 197.
- A letter intercepted by D^r Hawkins sent from Spain to Rome by an English Jesuit...*, November 20th, 1595, in Bishop Kennet's Collections, Landowne MS. 792.

c/ General accounts of Southwell's life, trial and death :

- July 26th, 1592. Avisos de Londres de 26 de Julio de 1592, Madrid, Arch. de la Hist., *Papeles de los Jesuitas*, vol. 116, p. 63.
- March 4th, 1595 N.S., Letter of Fr Garnet to Fr Claude Acquaviva (Latin), Stonyhurst MSS, *Anglia* 11, 1. Printed by Grosart, *Complete poems*, supplementary fly-leaves, pp. 7-10, and by Trotman, *Triumphs over death*, pp. 99-104.
- Date unknown; certainly before August, 1595; most probably immediately after Southwell's execution: *A brefe discourse of the condemnation and execution of Mr Robert Southwell...*, Stonyhurst MS, *Anglia* A. iii. 1. This account is probably the original source, from which all other accounts are derived. Its early date is proved in any case by its concordance with Garnet's letter below; in regard to the beginning of the trial especially, the two narratives are practically identical.
- March 7th, 1595, N.S., Letter of Fr Garnet to Fr Claude Acquaviva (*Copia di una lettera...*) (Italian), General Archives, S.J. *Angl.* 31.
- After February, 1595. Thomas Leake's relation of the martyrdom of Father Southwell, Stonyhurst MSS, *Anglia*, vi, pp. 125-128. Printed in C.R.S., vol. v, pp. 333-335. This is a late account, and obviously less trustworthy or accurate than the above documents.
- July 3rd, 1598, Speech of Robert Barnes, Stonyhurst MSS, *Anglia* A. ii. 41, printed in Tierney's *Dodd*, vol. iii, appendices, p. cxcvii.

d/ Southwell's devotional or literary MSS. (See bibliography) :

The two book of devotions written at Rome (1578-80) and now preserved in the Catholic Church, Newbury, Berks.

Exercitia et devotiones..., Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, cabinet des manuscrits, *fonds général*, N° 2262, format D.

Stonyhurst MS. A.V.4 (Latin poems etc.)

2. — *Later biographies* (xvith, xviith and xviiiith centuries)

Practically every document which provides information on Southwell's biography, either refers to the early part of his life, and never left the Continent at all, or, if it refers to his missionary years, was sent to the Continent immediately after the events it relates. Consequently all such documents were kept throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in some religious house or college in Italy, France or Flanders, not necessarily an English foundation. Many of them were eventually sent to the Jesuit College at Saint Omers. A number were afterwards taken back to England at the time of the French Revolution. The biographers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries used no English sources, and derived all their material from Rome, Saint Omers, Douay, etc.

Two narratives — the chief sources afterwards used — were penned on the Continent within a few years of Southwell's death :

Narratio Martyrii B. P. Roberti Sotuellii Societatis Jesu, quam J. Joannes Deckerius ex Belgio vrbe louanio misit ad R. P. H. Generalem mense Augusto 1595.

This piece is a rhetorical amplification of the *Brefe Discourse*, which Dekkers had no doubt received soon after his friend's death; it follows it closely and adds no new particulars to the story of Southwell's trial and execution. It appends, however, a panegyric couched in very general terms, and the letter *E portu*, of July 25th, 1586, which had been sent to Dekkers himself, and for which it is the original source.

Account of Southwell's life and death in *Historia particvlar de la persecucion de Inglaterra...* by Diego de Yopez, bishop of Tarazona, Madrid 1599. This account contains :

a/ A short narrative of Southwell's early life, with some particulars not elsewhere found.

b/ A narrative of his imprisonment, based in part on Verstegan's despatch of August 3rd, 1592, and providing some new information.

c/ A translation of Garnet's letter of March 4th, 1595.

d/ Translations of Southwell's letters of January 16th and March 8th, 1592.

The next biographers generally supply a list of their sources, and we shall only notice in each case the most important of these. Accounts of Southwell's life appear in the following works :

Bibliotheca scriptorum Societatis Iesv... a Philippo Alegambe Bruxellensi, Antverpiæ 1643. A brief narrative, which mainly rests on Fr Garnet's letter of March 4th, 1595, as quoted by Yezpez, on Fr Garnet's Italian letter of March 7th, 1595, and on Dekkers' *Narratio*.

Mortes illustres et gesta eorum de Societate Iesv qui... ab... Haereticis... necati... sunt, Auctore Philippo Alegambe. Romæ, 1657.

The same three sources as in Alegambe's previous work are quoted here almost in full. The list of "autores" at the end is unaccountably missing but can be to some extent deduced from neighbouring biographies e. g. that of Fr Cornelius, S.J. The letter *E portu* is printed from Dekkers in both of Alegambe's works, as well as extensive fragments of the *Exercitia et Devotiones*. (Brussels MS).

Historia provinciae anglicanae Societatis Iesv, Collectore Henrico Moro, eiusdem Societatis sacerdote. Audomari (St Omers) 1660.

This is the fullest of Southwell's late biographies, and includes a good deal of new information. Fr More had at his disposal a number of original documents, now lost to us, as mentioned above, p. 142, in the *Epistolæ familiares*. On these he based his history of the poet's early life and mission years. In regard to the trial and execution he made use of Fr Garnet's Italian letter of March 7th, 1595, and of the *Brefe Discourse* directly, as well as of Dekkers' narrative. More's biography would be a document of paramount value, and the only source for part of Southwell's life and literary work, had not its author been over-anxious to "improve" the documents he used, so as to make a display of classical elegance. He quotes the letter *E portu* in a much altered form, and wholly recasts the story of the trial, thus destroying all the exactness and touching simplicity of the *Brefe Discourse*. His care to publish none but "good" Latin considerably detracts from his value as a historian; yet his work remains an important source, and cannot be overlooked.

Dell' Istoria della Compagnia di Giesù l'Inghilterra, parte dell' Europa, descritta dal P. Daniello Bartoli.. . Roma, 1667.

Europeæ historiæ Societatis Iesv pars prior, Anglia, ex edito Romæ Italico R. P. Danielis Bartoli... Interprete R. P. Lvdivico Ianino... Lvgdvni... 1671.

This biography is very full and painstaking, and a sound piece of work. It adds some particulars on Southwell's journey to England, not contained in the above-printed accounts. The sources are chiefly Verstegan's despatches, Fr Garnet's two letters, and Dekkers' *Narratio*, which the writer blends into a whole.

Societas Jesu usque ad sanguinis et vitæ profusionem militans... Auctore R. Patre Mathia Tanner... Pragæ 1675.

This is purely and simply abbreviated from Alegambe, *Mortes Illustres*, and reproduces his quotations from *Exercitia et Devotiones*, as well as the letter *E portu*.

Historiæ Societatis Jesu Pars Quinta, Tomus posterior... Auctore Josepho Juvencio (Jouvençy) ... Romæ, 1710.

A very loose biography, with the sequence of events largely mixed up; it is composed from Tanner, Alegambe and Bartoli, uses no new sources and is quite untrustworthy.

Memoirs of missionary priests... gathered... (by Bishop Richard Challoner) 1741-42.

A brief and plain, but accurate narrative, mostly translated from Yopez' work mentioned above. Brings no new information.

To the above printed biographies must be added an article in the MS. *Catalogus Primorum Patrum ac Fratrum Soc. Jesu ex Anglia*, by Fr Nathaniel Southwell, Stonyhurst MS. A. iv. 3.

This is only a brief note, which however mentions some original documents on Southwell's Roman years.

3. — Other biographical documents

No further light is cast on Southwell's life by :

Jos. Walter's edition of *Saint Peter's Complaint*, London 1817.

Grosart's edition of the *Complete poems*, London 1872.

Henry Foley's *Records of the English Province S.J.*, London 1880.

(Inaccurate and confused).

Trotman's edition of the *Triumphs over death*, London 1914.

Mrs C. M. Hood's *Book of Robert Southwell*, Oxford 1926 (contains many mistakes).

But use has been made in the present work of the following sources of information :

Fr J. H. Pollen's biographical notes on Southwell, a file at Farm Street House.

Fr J. H. Pollen's manuscript life of Fr Southwell in his own hand at Farm Street House.

Fr Leo Hicks' list of biographical sources (Farm Street).

A Volume of Southwell's letters (copies) and other documents, shelf-mark B. 17, at Farm Street.

A Volume of *Southwell's scripta* (and of writings wrongly ascribed to Southwell), at Farm Street.

These are guides to the various records, and contain some original information.

APPENDIX II

Southwell's connection with various families of the gentry or nobility

1. — SOUTHWELL AND THE COPLEYS

		Sir William Shelley of Michelgrove	
Sir Roger Copley		= Elizabeth	
Lady Katharine Copley	= Sir Thomas Copley (1514-1584)	Bridget = Richard Southwell	
Anthony Copley (3 rd Son)		Robert Southwell the poet	

2. — SOUTHWELL AND THE VAUX OF HARROWDEN

		Nicholas, Lord Vaux 1 st Baron Vaux	
Francis Southwell	Sir Thomas Strange = Anne	Thomas Vaux 2 nd Baron Vaux the poet (1510-1556)	
Sir Richard Southwell	Anthony Southwell = Anne		
Richard Southwell		William, 3 rd Baron Vaux of Harrowden	
Robert Southwell the poet			

3. — THE HOWARDS

Henry Howard Earl of Surrey, the poet

Thomas Howard, 3 rd Duke of Norfolk, beheaded in 1572			
1 st wife	2 nd wife	3 rd wife. Lady Dacres	
Lady Mary Fitzalan, daughter and heiress of Henry Fitzalan 12 th earl of Arundel	Margaret Audley	bringing with her one son and 3 daughters, the eldest Anne Dacres, who married Philip Howard, earl of Arundel	
Philip Howard Earl of Arundel (for whom TRIUMPHS written)	five children one of whom Lady Margaret Howard married Robert Sackille afterwards Lord Buckhurst Earl of Dorset, and died 1591 at the age of 29		
Richard Sackville	Edward Sackville	Anne Sackville, married Edward Seymour son of the Lady Beauchamp	Cecily Sackville

ROBERT SOUTHWELL

4. — THE SACKVILLES

Sir Richard Sackville d. 1566		=	Winifred, dau. of Sir John Bruges	
Thomas Sackville first earl of Dorset and baron Buckhurst (1536-1608) the poet		= (1554)	Cecily, dau. of Sir John Baker of Sissinghurst, Kent	
Robert Sackville, 2 nd earl of Dorset (1561-1609)		=	Lady Margaret Howard (d. 1591 and commemorated in the TRIUMPHS)	
Richard Sackville	Edward Sackville	=	Anne Sackville Edward Seymour, son of the Lady Beauchamp	Cecily Sackville

5. — THE SEYMOURS

Edward Seymour
1st Duke of Somerset
Lord Protector

Edward Seymour Earl of Hertford 1539-1621	=	his first wife Lady Catherine Grey (younger sister of Lady Jane Grey)
Edward Seymour Lord Beauchamp (1561-1612)	=	Honora daughter of Sir Richard Rogers (Lady Beauchamp)
Edward Seymour (1587-1618)	=	Anne, third daughter of Ro. Sackville

APPENDIX III

SOUTHWELL'S LATIN DEVOTIONS AND POEMS AT STONYHURST COLLEGE

One of the three extant MSS in Fr. Southwell's own hand is found in the library of the Jesuit College at Stonyhurst, Lancs, under press-mark A.v.4. It consists of sixty-four folios of varying size, the original sheaf of foolscap paper having been folded up by the writer now into two, now into four, and now into eight. It can be divided up roughly, according to its contents, into eleven sections, out of which only sections 1 and 2, on the one hand, and probably sections 4, 8 and 9 on the other, consist of paper of the same make, judging from the watermark. A few of the folios formerly belonged to a collection from which they were detached, and in which they had their proper numbering (fol. 18-21 are numbered 94-95 and 100-101, and folios 55-60 and 62-64 are numbered 249-263 and 254-256 respectively). All the fragments are in the same hand (an imperfect secretary hand, whether the text be Latin or English), which, as we are assured by inscriptions of an early date at the head of sections 1, 3, 4, 6, 9, 10 and 11, is Robert Southwell's autograph, "P. Rob. Southw. Martyris autographum." What is more, the poem *De Assumptione B.M.V.* is signed "Tuiss. in Dno Robertus Southwellus", which looks like a dedication to some unknown person, possibly to Deckers.

The use of the secretary hand is noteworthy, as the two other autograph MSS. of Southwell are in an Italian hand. This may help to determine the date of the Stonyhurst MS. It is largely made up of English compositions, presumably dating back to the latter part of Southwell's stay at Rome. Some of these are rough copies with corrections, whereas the Latin poems stand in their final form. One of these, *In festum Pentecostes*, is dated "Anno Domini 1580, 21 Maii". The poem *De Assumptione B.M.V.* certainly belongs to the same period. On the whole it seems as if Southwell, towards the close of his Roman years, had transcribed his early efforts in Latin, prior to new attempts in the English tongue. This would account for the uniform handwriting of the MS. Its contents are as follows :

a. Devotional fragments in Latin prose :

Section 1 : ff. 1a-3b, size of page 1/4 foolscap leaf. Theological notes.
Section 6 : ff. 28a-34a, size of page 1/4 leaf, text in two vertical columns, the right-hand column being mostly left blank. *Meditationes in aduentu.*

Section 7 : f. 36^{a-b}. Page slightly smaller than in the above section.

A short meditation beginning : "Omnia te in cruce reliquerunt o bone Jesu..."

Section 9 : size of pages 1/8 leaf. *Precationes*

1^a precatio (no title), ff. 39^a-40^a.

2^a *Ad omnia accommodata precatio*, ff. 41^a-41^b.

3^a *Ante orationem precatio*, ff. 41^b-42^a.

4^a *Ante missam precatio*, ff. 42^b-43^a.

5^a *Ante studia precatio*, ff. 43^a-44^a.

6^a *Antequam cum externis aut etiam domesticis loquaris precatio*, ff. 44^{a-b}.

7^a (no title), ff. 44^b-46^a.

b. Latin verse :

Section 2 : *Poema de Assumptione B.M.V.*, ff. 4^a-8^a, size of p. 1/4 leaf

Section 3 : *Filii Prodigii porcos pascentis ad Patrem epistola*, ff.

14^a-18^a, size of page 1/8 leaf. Includes :

Ad deum in afflictione elegia.

Ad sanctam Catherinam, virginem et martyrem.

In renovationem votorum, festis natalis domini.

In festum Pentecostes, Anno domini 1580, 21 Maii.

Section 5 : Three elegiac pieces, beginning "Ex luctu populus" (cf. chapt. v and App. iv), ff. 26^a-27^b, closely written, size of paper more than 1/4 leaf.

c. English prose :

Section 8 : A short fragment in Euphuistic prose, beginning : "Alas why doe I lament his losse that will needes be lost ?", f. 37^a, size of paper 1/4 leaf.

Section 11 : The so-called "early draft" of *Mary Magdalen's teares* beginning "In this present solemnity"..., ff. 56^a-60^b and 62^a, size of paper 1/2 leaf.

d. English verse :

Section 10 : The so-called "early draft" of *Saint Peter's complaint*, entitled *Petter Playnt*, fol. 50^a-51^b, size of paper 1/4 leaf. To this must be added on f. 61^a, interleaved into section 11, (size of paper 1/4 leaf), a fragment of seven lines, in the ballad metre, on the theme of the "mean estate", beginning "The shippe that from the port dothe sayle..."

The following folios are blank : 9^a-13^b (1/4 size), 19^a-21^b (1/4 size), 24^a-25^b (1/8 size), 35^{a-b} (1/4 size), 37^b-38^b (1/4 size), 46^b-49^b (1/8 size), 52^a-55^b (1/4 size), fol. 54-55 not yet cut, 53-54 marked 255-256). The inscriptions stating that the fragments were written by the poet himself are in the same hand in all sections except section 10, where both the hand and ink seem more recent.

APPENDIX IV

SOUTHWELL'S LATIN ELEGIES

There arises in connection with the *Fragment a series of Elegies*, an interesting and puzzling problem of which the following are the main points :

1. — The MS. which contains the *Elegies* (Stonyhurst MSS, A.v.4) dates back to Southwell's Roman years; as a matter of fact its preservation is due to the fact that it never came to England before the end of the eighteenth century. It is therefore much older than the Armada or even the execution of Mary Queen of Scots, to which the poems cannot possibly refer.

2. — One wonders how Grosart could be blinded by one single line to the meaning of the whole of *Elegia VII*. The line is :

Ecce jacet fusis gens Castellana manipulis...
(Low the Castilians lie, their armies routed...¹)

but besides the fact that the Armada, when destroyed, consisted of ships and not of companies of foot, the next line provide the key :

Hoc tumulo vires perdidit, atque viros...
(In this grave they lost their strength and their men...)

In other words, the loss of the one person whose death is here bemoaned, means as great a disaster to Spain as the rout of her armies. A similar metaphor is found a few lines further. India, the poet says, is groaning with dishevelled hair :

Ortus in occasum Margaritis omnis abit...
(In Margaret's setting all rising flees away...²)

This last line leaves no room for doubt as to the personal character of the elegy, which is a lament for the death of one "Margaritis" or "Margareta," placed in the mouth, not of the poet, but of a man to whom she was very dear, as we showed above.

3. — *Elegia VIII* shows that this man was Margaret's husband.³ There is every reason to believe that the person he laments is the Queen,

¹ *Complete poems*, Grosart's ed., p. 206, l. 14.

² *Ibid.*, p. 207, l. 25.

³ See above, chapt. IV.

whose shade gives advice to her noblemen in *Elegia IX*. Presumably *Elegiae I* to *VI*, now lost, were devoted to the life of the same person.

4. — It is an easy matter to confute Grosart; but the real difficulty begins with the positive side of the problem. Who was the "Margareta" whom Southwell celebrated in his Latin verse? It has not been possible to find, among the poet's contemporaries, a person whose life might fit in with the above particulars, or whose death might justify the universal lamenting described in *Elegia VII*, and extending even to Peru. This allusion to America might point to some princess connected with Spain. The only likely character of the kind is Maragaret of Austria or Parma, Charles V's natural daughter, who was born in 1522. She was entrusted with the vice-royalty of Flanders from 1559 to 1567, which might account for *Elegia IX*; but then she was on bad terms with her husband, Octavio Farnese, duke of Parma, and only died in 1586, too late therefore for our present purpose.⁴

An attempt has also been made to find a likely personage in the history of England or Scotland. The following "Margarets" might have served the poet's turn, but in each case there is a hitch:

a) Margaret of Anjou (1430-1482), was the queen-consort of the pious Henry VI, but she died eleven years after her husband.⁵

b) Margaret Beaufort (1443-1509), wife of Edward Tudor, earl of Richmond, and mother of Henry VII, was a devout woman who helped in the revival of Christian learning, and was praised after her death by bishop Fisher in a well-known funeral sermon; but her husband had died as early as Nov. 3rd, 1456.⁶

c) Margaret Tudor (1489-1541), Queen of Scotland and wife of James IV, was also renowned for her piety; but her husband had been killed on Flodden field in 1513.⁷

5. — There are special reasons, however, for devoting some more attention to two saintly "Margarets" of royal rank, both queens of Scotland, and respectively the wives of King Malcolm, of Shakespearian memory, and king James III. Southwell's poems partly tally with the history of the former (1046-1093), as told by the oldest chronicler who mentions her, Theodoric, monk of Durham, her confessor.⁸ The queen's influence upon her half-barbarous husband, who could not even read the Gospel, the love she inspired him with, her improving action upon her nobility, are all found in her narrative. He relates how she

⁴ *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed., 1911, vol. xvii, p. 703 (Margaret of Austria).

⁵ *Dict. Nat. Biogr.*, thin paper ed., vol. xii, pp. 1023-1033.

⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. ii, pp. 48-49.

⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. xii, pp. 1035-36.

⁸ *Acta Sanctorum*, ed. novissima, Parisiis et Romae 1867, Junii tomus secundus, (vol. 22), pp. 324-335.

had a foreboding of her death, and having told him her own story from the beginning, addressed him in the following words : "Farewell, I shall not remain long in this life. I have two things to beg of thee; one is to remember my soul as long as thou livest, in thy masses and prayers; the other, to take care of my sons and daughters, to be devoted to them, to teach them chiefly to fear and to love God, and never to leave off teaching them..."⁹ Perhaps this passage may have suggested the queen's dying speech in *Elegia VIII*, despite the difference in the tone and circumstances. Also notice the title of the second chapter in Theodoric's account : "The care taken by Margaret of the honour of the realm and of ecclesiastical discipline; how she corrected abuses."¹⁰

But at the same time Theodoric's narrative makes it impossible that the dying queen should address her husband, since the events the chronicler relates are as follows : four days before she herself passed away, Malcolm being away on a military expedition, she was supernaturally made aware of his death; and she never again saw him.¹¹ So if the *Elegiae* do refer to Saint Margaret, one must suppose either that Southwell used a second-hand and untrustworthy source, or that he took liberties with history, which as a matter of fact would be in keeping with his fanciful and artificial treatment of the theme.

6. — Additional confirmation of this conjecture may be found in the fact that St Margaret of Scotland was held in great veneration among the Scottish Catholic refugees on the Continent in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and must have been one of the topics of the day while Southwell was at the Roman College. It was thought unsafe to leave her relics in Scotland when Mary Stuart's position became difficult, and Philip II of Spain obtained possession of her remnants and those of king Malcolm, and deposited them in the newly-built church of the Escorial. The foundation-stone of this building had been laid in 1563, and it was dedicated in 1586.¹² There is reason to think that the relics were sent from Scotland while Mary Stuart still enjoyed a certain measure of power i. e., before her flight to England in 1568. Consequently their transfer to Spain must have been in men's mouths between 1578 and 1586, when the *Elegies* were composed. It should also be noted that St Margaret's head, which had been kept by a Scottish Benedictine from 1586 to 1597, was then handed to a Scottish Jesuit who brought it to Antwerp; it was later taken to the Scottish College at Douay.¹³ In 1660 there was published in that town a

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 330, col. 1.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 326.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 330, col. 1-2.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 335, col. 1.

¹³ *Ibid.*, col. 1-2.

panegyric of the Saint entitled : *L'idée d'une reine parfaite en la vie de Marguerite reine d'Ecosse, avec les éloges de ses enfants David et Marthe*, by Turrien le Febvre; and the book was translated into English soon afterwards.¹⁴ It seems clear that even in Southwell's time she held a prominent place in the minds of the English Catholic refugees.

7. — It seems therefore likely that king Malcolm's wife was in fact the subject of Southwell's *Elegies*; the discrepancy between the facts of her life and the poems would then be accounted for by the author's extreme youth and lack of critical sense, and possibly also by his use of unreliable historical sources. The other possible solution must however be mentioned. In the case of Margaret of Denmark, wife of king James III of Scotland, no biographical difficulty occurs. She married at the age of thirteen in 1469 and died in 1486, her husband living on to 1488. She was renowned for her outstanding virtues and beloved of high and low. Her influence had restrained the Scottish nobles from plotting against her husband. After her death, the king and the nobles besought pope Innocent III to proclaim her a saint, and in fact the Holy See took the first step towards her beatification, by sending letters to several Scottish church dignitaries to inquire into her virtues and miracles.¹⁵ Why the contemplated process never began is not recorded by historians. It may be that while Southwell was at Rome, the question was again mooted and that the material for his *Elegies* was thus supplied to him. At the same time it must be said that the character of the king as a chivalrous and ethereal lover is hardly true to life.

Southwell's *Elegies* are too purely conventional to enable one to decide, from internal evidence, which of the two saintly Margarets was sung by him in Ovid's strain; and further light can only be thrown on the problem by research bearing on contemporary happenings in Spain or at the Roman court.

¹⁴ Ulysse CHEVALIER, *op. cit.*, *sub. nom.* Marguerite (S^e), p. 1483, col. 2.

¹⁵ Alphons BELLESHEIM, *Geschichte der katholischen Kirche in Schottland*, Mainz, 1883, vol. I, pp. 291, 303, and *passim*; *Dict. Nat. Biogr.*, thin paper ed., vol. XII, p. 1033, and vol. X, pp. 578-582 (article *James III.*)

APPENDIX V.

The corrections in the Stonyhurst MS. A.v. 27

The contents of the manuscript are as follows :

Fol 4^a-18^a : Southwell's letter *To the worshipful his very good father*.
Fol 20^a-36^a : *The triumphs over death* with the verses found in the printed editions of this prose work.

Fol 38^a-39^a : Preface and preliminary verses to *Saint Peter's complaint*.

Fol 39^a-74^a : The whole of Southwell's shorter lyrics as printed by Grosart, with the exception of *the Virgin Mary to Christ on the Crosse*, *Man to the wound in Christ's side*, and *Upon the image of death*, but including twelve stanzas from *Saint Peter's Complaint*. A specimen of the writing (a secretary hand) will be found in facsimile opposite p. 84 of the quarto edition of Southwell's works by Grosart. The same page has a facsimile reproduction of the poet's autograph from MS. A.v.4, and a comparison of the two hands shows that they are altogether different. Here are all the corrections throughout MS. A.v. 27.

a. *To the worshipful his very good father* :

Fol. 13^b : If not all the dignities that... *Dignities* corrected to *deynties*.

Fol. 14^a : ...untollerable reporte, and... *Reporte* corrected to *reproche*.

Fol. 15^a : ...of the Enymie, retire to a... *Enymie* corrected to *Evenynge*.

b. *Triumphs over death* :

Fol. 22^b : ...that envy herselfe was dead in her dispraise... *Her* corrected to *it*, *dead to dumbe*. Another *her* above had been corrected by mistake.

Fol. 23^b : ...but not revenged her enymies... *Enymies* corrected to *iniuryes*.

Fol. 25^b : ...a due debt to a more certaine owner... *Certaine* interlined.

Fol 29^b : ...so highly please god... *God* corrected to *yow*. (the former reading would have been meaningless).

Fol. 30^a : ...of our immortall bodies... *Immortall* corrected to *mortall* (same remark as above).

Fol. 30^b : ...so that our weary life, is not onely... *Weary* corrected to *very*.

Fol. 32^a : ...and freighted him so much... *Freighted* corrected to *fryghted*. lower down *freighteth* is corrected to *fryghteth*.

Fol. 33^a : ...in the sande misfortune... *Sande* corrected to *same* (the former reading would have been meaningless).

Fol. 35^b : ...not displeased to go, and yow the third... *And* corrected to *add*.

Fol. 36^a : ...did earth enrich... *Enritch* corrected to *encrease*; on the same page, *luste* is corrected to *lustre*.

c. *Poems* :

Fol. 40^a : *Our ladyes spousalls* (Grosart, p. 119).

To end the thredd whereof thethredd was sponne...

The first *Thredd* corrected to *webb*.

Fol. 41^a : *The visitation* (Grosart, p. 126).

And heavenly stile with handmayds sill acquaints :

Her youth to age, her selfe to sicke she lends... *Sill* corrected to *toyle*, *selfe* to *health*.

Fol. 43^b : *Christes retorne out of Egipt* (Grosart, p. 136).

Ripe fruit he must with thornes hange on a tree... *He must* is interlined.

Fol. 49^a : *Josephes amazement* (Grosart, p. 122).

By strong conjectures deemeth her with child...

Thinckes rather sence deceiv'd then her defild;

With child substituted for *defild and vice-versa*.

Fol. 55^b : *Mary Magdalens Blushe* (Grosart, p. 60).

Lament o soules sence spoyleth the of grace... *The* altered to *yow*.

Fol. 56^a : *Saint Peters remorse* (Grosart, p. 152).

Thy care my comfort is. *Care* altered to *cure*. The first reading would have been meaningless.

Fol. 56^b : *Dauids Peccaui* (Grosart, p. 104).

But now sith phancye dothe with follye end... *Dothe* altered to *did*.

Fol. 65^a : *I dye alive* (Grosart, p. 84).

Thus still I dye yet still I do remayne...

Remayne is altered to *reyyve* (not *relyve*, as Grosart says in his introduction p.xxviii) and the correction being illegible the whole is scratched out and *revive* added at the end of the line. This is the correction singled out by Grosart (p. 84) as being Southwell's autograph. It is to be noted that *remayne* would not rhyme with *alive* in the next line but one.

Ibid. : *What ioy to live* (Grosart, p. 85).

That heaving where they live long life require...

Heaving, which is meaningless, altered to *loving*.

Fol. 68^a : *Losse in delaye* (Grosart, p. 75).

Let thy farewell guide thy thoughte.

Farewell, which is meaningless, corrected to *forewytt*.

Fol. 70^a : *Lewd love is losse* (Grosart, p. 90).

And fairest shapes, whereon our loves do ceaze,

But sely thinges of gods high beautyes are.

Things altered to *signes*, the *es* of *beautyes* added.

Fol. 71^b : *Fortunes falsehoode* (Grosart, p. 68).

As giddy fortune in reeling varietyes...

The *rie* of *varietyes* are a surcharge, possibly upon *ni*, the former reading being vanities.

Three of the corrections deserve especial notice, as they may help to determine the relation between the Stonyhurst and other MSS of Southwell's works. On fol. 41^a, the Stonyhurst MS. primitively had *her selfe*, later corrected to *her health*. In neither case is the meaning clear or the sentence grammatical, and there is no very forcible reason why the second reading should be thought "superior"; certainly the uncorrected line would be more in keeping with Southwell's habitual use of alliteration. It is noteworthy in any case, that the other two MSS (B.M. Add. 10422 and Harleian 6921) and all the printed editions, have *her selfe* (Cf. Grosart, p. xxvii); so that the corrector of the Stonyhurst MS must, either have had a more perfect copy to serve him as a guide, or what seems more likely, have made the correction for reasons of his own. On fol. 61^a, *farewell*, here corrected to *forewytt*, is also found in Add. MS. 10442 (Grosart, p. xxv). And again on fol. 65^a, *remayne*, here corrected to *reyyve*, is the reading of the Harleian MS. (Grosart, p. xxviii). Thus it seems plausible that the Stonyhurst MS belongs to the same family as the two others, and is more or less directly descended from them or from a common source; but if we add that in the Harleian and Stonyhurst MSS, only twelve stanzas of *Saint Peter's Complaint* are found — the early draft, — it looks very much as if there were a direct line of descent from the former to the latter. Now little can be inferred from the handwriting of the Stonyhurst MS; the text itself is obviously in a scribe's hand; the corrections may be due to a different pen, but they bear no likeness whatsoever to Southwell's autograph. Besides with the one exception of *helth* for *selfe* on fol. 41^a, not a single one of the corrections admits of the construction put upon them by Grosart. The corrector, whoever he may have been, was only anxious to do away with absurdities for which either the copyist, or the text he copied, were responsible; and such also was probably his intention in the particular case just mentioned. How far Grosart may be trusted in regard to old handwritings appears from his misreading of the correction on folio 65^a, where he took the usual secretary *v* for an *l*, and accordingly read *relyve* for *reyyve*, wrongly concluding that the author had twice successively changed his mind (cf. facsimile in Grosart, opposite p. 84).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

No attempt has been made to provide a complete bibliography of the subject handled in the above pages, or a full list of the books which have been made use of in dealing with it. The works mentioned below are all part of one of the following classes :

- a) Southwell's own compositions ;
- b) Their direct sources ;
- c) Critical studies ;
- d) Works quoted from in the text or referred to in the footnotes.

All titles are printed in italics, except where their type, spelling, divisions and ornaments are exactly reproduced or described.

The title of a book is often followed by the mention of the place where it can be found. In many cases the abbreviated name of the library is followed by the shelf-mark of the book. The following is a list of the abbreviations used :

B.	Bodleian Library	O.	Library of the London Oratory.
B.M.	British Museum.	Os.	Library of Oscott College, Birmingham.
B.M.U.C.	Bibliothèque municipale et universitaire, Clermont-Ferrand.	S.	Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne, Paris.
B.N.U.S.	Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire, Strasbourg.	S.G.	Bibliothèque Sainte - Geneviève, Paris.
B.N.	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.	St.	Library of Stonyhurst College, Blackburn, Lancs.
L.	Lambeth palace library.		
Mz.	Bibliothèque Mazarine, Paris.		

I. — A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF SOUTHWELL'S WORKS AND THEIR SOURCES.

I. — Manuscripts.

For Southwell's letters, see Appendix I, *Biographical sources*, to which also refer for the Brussels MS. of *Exercitia et Devotiones*.

For Stonyhurst MS. A. v. 4 (Devotions and Latin works) see Appendix III.

For Stonyhurst MS. A. v. 27, see Appendix V.

Stonyhurst College, MS. B. 11. Begins : *Breue et utile doctrina de gioueni composta da Scto bonauentura cardinale de la Chiesa romano...* For the section used, see above, Chapter VII.

Stonyhurst College, a MS. of the *Short rule of good life*, mentioned by Gillow, no doubt by mistake, for we have found no trace of this MS. in the College Library.

Inner Temple Library. A MS. of the *Humble Supplication*, mentioned by Fr. Thurston in the Month, LXXXIII, pp. 387, n. 2, which we have not been able to see.

British Museum, Add. MS. 10,422, used by Turnbull, Walter and Grosart in their editions, Contains *St Peters complaint* in full, and Grosart's *Myrtæ* and *Mæoniae* with the exception of *The Virgin Mary to Christe on the Crosse*, *Man to the wound in Christ's side*, and *Upon the image of death*; and the first three poems of Grosart's *Melofolia*; also the *Triumphs over death*, and Southwell's *Epistles* to his father and brother.

British Museum, Harleian MS. 6921. Contains the first draft of *St Peters complaint*, the *Myrtæ* and *Mæoniae* with the same exceptions as above.

British Museum, Add. MS. 34,395. Contains Southwell's *Epistle to his father*.

Harmsworth MS. (information supplied by Fr James H. McDonald C. S. C.) This MS is part of the volume, the property of Sir R. L. Harmsworth, which contains the Wolfe edition of *St Peters complaint*. It contains :

- a) A copy of Southwell's poems not found in the Wolfe edition, carefully edited;
- b) A copy of the *Foure-fould meditation* of Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel;
- c) The poems of Henry Vaux, son of Lord Vaux.

It consists of 38 leaves without pagination, foliation or signatures, the same size as the Wolfe edition which it completes.

Peter Mowle's commonplace book, preserved at Oscott College, (Press-mark in the old Library B. 11; press-mark in the New Library unknown). This is a book of selections from Elizabethan literature, made by one Peter Mowle, who added dedicatory prefaces of his own before each section. It contains Southwell's *Epistle to his father* under the following title : AN excelent Epistle (perswasitorie) from a childe to his father...; the date is not mentioned at the end (ff. 51^a-55^a).

It also contains SAINT PETERS Complainte after his relaps... (fol. 70^a to 79^a), but with the stanzas in the following order (Grosart's numbering being used) : I to XXXIX; LVI to CIII; XL to LV; CXX to CXXXII.

It should be noted that this MS also contains Philip Howard's *Foure-fold meditation of the four last things* (fol. 55^b-63^a).

At Farm Street House, London : MS. of the *Hundred meditations* with the following title : A HVNDRED .MEDITACIONS OF .THE .LOVE OF .GOD. (Cf. *Month*, Nov. 1925, p. 443ⁿ).

Two MS books of Devotions &c written by Southwell, apparently while at Rome, and now preserved in the Catholic church, Newbury, Berks. MS. I : A small 16mo volume, containing a summary of the *Constitutions S. J.* in Italian; the Rules for food from the *Spiritual Exercises*, in Latin; the Litany of Loretto, prayers and meditations. MS. II : lists of patron saints and intentions for prayer allotted to each duty in the day.

(Information supplied by Fr. Newdigate, S. J.).

A further volume of devotions is mentioned by Gillow as being in the Phillips library, and having formerly belonged to Alban Butler. This volume was sold in 1895 at Sotheby's, and we have been unable to discover its present whereabouts. Its title was : *Meditationes Roberti Sotueli Martyris de Attributis Divinis ad amorem Dei excitantes. — Exercitia et Devotiones ejusdem*. This may possibly be a transcript of the Brussels MS.

A volume entitled *Instructio novitiorum*, 8vo, is mentioned by De Backer-Sommervogel, tome VII, col. 1412, as being in the library of the Scottish convent at Vienna, and "Probabiliter per P. Robertum Southwellum, S. J., Anglum."

A *Life* in Latin of Edward Throckmorton, a novice of the Society at Rome, is also ascribed to Southwell, though Gillow himself states that in the opinion of Oliver, it is more probably by Fr Agazzari. According to Gillow, there is a transcript of this MS at Stonyhurst.

On the manuscripts at Stonyhurst, see : *Second Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts*, London 1871, pp. 143-146. Third report, 1872, pp. 334-341; Supplemental report upon the MSS at Stonyhurst College (undated). by Joseph Stevenson.

We have been unable to see some of these MSS, and the above list, which is probably not complete, and in any case does not supply full particulars, should merely be used as a starting-point.

II. — *Prose works.*a) *Hundred meditations :*

Diego de Estella (Didacus Stella), *Meditationes devotissimas del Amor de Dios*, Salamanca 1576 (B. M.) (Cf. *Month*, Nov. 1925, pp. 443-445).

MEDITACIONES | DEVOTISSIMAS DEL AMOR | DE DIOS. | *Hechas por el R. P. F. Diego de Estella, | de la Orden de Sant Francisco.* | (Large printer's ornament with device in oval scroll : GAVDET VIRTUS MEDIA VTROQUE, around an engraving of Adam and Eve on either side of the tree of life) IMPRESSAS CON LICENCIA | y aprobacion. 1578. |

Colophon FVERON IMPRESSAS | estas Meditaciones del amor de | Dios, en Lisboa, por An- | tonio Ribero. | 1578. |

One vol., 8vo, ff. numb. 1-291, § 4 ff. unnumb. The official approbation is dated " a XXIJ de Setiembre de 1575. (Maz. 25,368.)

MEDITATIONI | DEVOTISSIME | DEL R. P. F. DIEGO DI | Stella dell' Ordine di S. Francesco | osseruante, | Nelle quali si tratta | *Dell' amor di Dio, & dell' obbligo, che si ha | a sua Diuina Maestà.* | Nouamente tradotte dalla Spagnuola | nella lingua Italiana. | CON PRIVILEGIO. | (Large ornament, with oval frame, and scroll with device : INTER OMNES) | IN VENETIA, | (line) Presso Francesco Ziletti 1584. |

One vol., 12^{mo}, title page + sigs a2-12, + 359 numb. ff. + 1f. unnumb. B. N.)

A hundred Meditations on the love of God. By Robert Southwell, priest of the Society of Jesus. Edited, with a Preface, by John Morris, *Priest of the same Society.* London : Burns and Oates, 1873.

b) *Mary Magdalens teares.*

Contemporary works on Mary Magdalen :

Rasiglia (Marco da), *La conversione di Maddalena e la vita di Lazzaro e di Marta.* Perugia 1573. Ff. 42 (Cf. Cremona, Erasmo Valvasone, p. 58).

Valvasone (Erasmo de) *Le lagrime della Maddalena*, published together with Tansillo's *Lagime di San Pietro*, in the following edition : Genova 1587, Venetia 1592, Venetia 1598, Venetia 1599.

Policreti (Giuseppe) *La conversione di Maddalena*, Vicenza 1588 (A. Della Noce), 42 8-line stanzas. (cf. Cremona, Valvasone, p. 59).

Ralli (Giovanni), *Le lagrime di Santa Maddalena*, (shortly after 1588. Cf. Cremona Valvasone, p. 60).

NVOVA RACCOLTA | DI | LAGRIME | di PIV POETI | ILLVSTRI, | (line) *All' Illustriss. et Eccmo. Signore | Alvigi Prioli | Benemerito Podestà di Bergamo.* | (Engraving, David with his harp) In Bergamo. cl 1 xcii | *Per Comin Ventura.* |

One vol., 8vo, sigs. al-8 + pp. numb. 1-24 + pp. numb. 1-31 + sigs. A1-8 + pp. numb. 1-75. Contains :

a) *Stanze del sig. Torqvato Tasso per le Lagrime Di Maria Vergine santissima, & di Giesu Christo Nostro Signore.*

b) *Lagrime di Santa Maria Maddalena del Sig. Erasmo delli Signori di Valvasone.*

c) *Lamento di Maria Vergine del molto R. Sig. Don. Angelo Grillo.*

d) *Lagrime del Penitente Ad imitatione de' Sette Salmi Penitentiali di Dauide. Del molto R. Sig. Don. Angelo Grillo.* (B. M. : 11, 427. bb. 9.)

LA MAGDELENE repentie. (Copper-plate with inscription at top : *La Magdelene aux pieds de notre Seigneur*, at bottom : *Adhaesit anima mea post te Psal 62* (v. 9) A Paris, chez Rolin Thierry, rue S. Jacques, à la Coquille. M.D.XCVII. Small 4to, sigs. Ai-Fii. (Mz. : 37, 234. pièce 8.)

BREVE SUMMA | de la admirable conversion | y vida de la gloriosa | Magdalena | En estancias sacada a luz por Esteuan de Villalouos |.

In *Primera parte del Thesoro de diuina poesia*, Lisbon 1598. One hundred stanzas in ottava rima. (B. M. : 243.a.31.)

Mary Magdalene, a play found in the early XVth century Digby MS. 133, but written in the Midlands in the late XVth century; published by F. J. Furnivall in the *Digby plays*, 1896 Early English Text Society, LXX).

EDITIONS OF SOUTHWELL'S WORKS.

Mary Magdalens Teares. London, Gabriel Cawood 1591, 8vo. This edition is mentioned by Gillow, but we have been unable to find a trace of it. Gillow probably concluded from the entry in Stationers' Register, Nov. 8th, 1591, that there must have been an edition of that date.

MARIE | MAGDALENS | FVNERALL | TEARES | Ieremieae. | CAP. 6 VERSE, 26
Luctum unigeniti fac tibi planctum amarum. (Ornamented fleur-de-lys) LONDON,
Printed by A. I. G. C. 1594 (Gillow interprets A. I. G. C. as meaning Abel Ieffe
Gabriel Cawood.)

One vol., 8vo, ff. 7 unnumb, + ff. 80, numbered (174 pages) (L: XXVIII.8.25; B.)

Mary Magdalen's Funerall Teares. 1596?. This edition is mentioned by Fr. Thurston in the *Month*, LXXXIII, p. 383, where he however says that he is doubtful of it. We have been able to trace it.

MARIE | Magdalens Funerall | Teares. | Ieremae. | Capit 6. Verse 26. | Luctum
vnigeniti fac tibi planctum Amarum. (Copper-plate in oval frame, shepherds with
sheep) AT LONDON, | Printed | by I. R. for W. L. | Italian style, with a woman
on the left and a man on the right, in contemporary dress; separate ornamented
frame, oblong, for the end of title, from "printed" onwards.

One vol., small 8vo, sigs. A1-7, + ff. numb. 1-80. No colophon. P. 42 numb.
24 by mistake. (B. M. : 11, 623.a.a.42).

Mary Magdalens Teares, London 1607. This edition is mentioned by Gillow and Thurston, *op. and loc. cit.*, but we have not been able to find it.

MARIE | Magdalens funerall | TEARES. | Ieremie Chap 6. vers. 26. | Luctum vnigeniti
fac tibi planctum amarum. | (Ornament with book and sandglass, above crowned and
winged skull, itself above terrestrial globe) AT LONDON : | Printed for
William Leake dwel- | ling in Paules Church-yard | at the signe of the holy |
Ghost. 1609 |

Mary Magdalens Teares, in the collected editions of Southwell's works, beginning with *St Peters complaint*, published at Doway, 1616, 1620; London, 1620, 1630, 1634, 1636.

Mary Magdalens Teares, ed. by W. Tooke, London 1772 (B. M. : 873.c.50).

MARIE MAGDALENS | FUNERALL TEARES | FOR THE | Death of our Saviour.
| (Line) | "Say unto wisdom, thou art my sister, and call understanding | thy
kinswoman." | (line) | Re-printed for Charles Baldwyn, | London. | 1823. |

One vol., square 16mo., pp. XI-204. A correct reprint in modernized spelling.
B. M. : 874.d.35; St. 0.5.53.)

Mary Magdalens Teares, London 1827, 12mo. (B. M. : 11, 626.aaa.40)

Works possibly inspired by *Mary Magdalens Teares*.

Prosopopeia | CONTAINING | THE TEARES OF THE | holy, blessed, and
sanctified | MARIE, the Mother | of God. | Lyke 2. | And moreover, the sword
shall pearce | thy soule, that the thoughts of many hearts may be opened. (Ornament)
LONDON. Printed for E. White. 1596.

One vol., 8vo, sigs A1-H7. Facsimile in *The complete works of Thomas Lodge...*
Printed for the Hunterian Club, vol. III, 1883.

Breton (Nicholas). *Marie Magdalen's Love. A solemne Passion of the Soules Love*.
London, Printed by John Danter, and are to be sold in Gracious Street nere Leaden
Hall Gate. 1595. Sm. 8vo, pp. 112 (Corser, *Collectanea Anglo-poetica*, part III,
p. 15.)

A | Duine Poeme, di- | uided into two Partes : | *The Rauisht Soule, and the* | Blessed VVeeper. | Compiled by *Nicholas Breton*, Gentle-man. | (Ornament with a kind of shield) Imprinted at London, for Iohn Browne, and Iohn Deane. 1601.

One vol., 4to, Sigs. A1-F4. (B. M. : C.39.b.11)

MARIE Mag | DALENS LAMEN- | Tations For The | losse of Her | Master Iesus. | Disce mori mundo vivere disce Deo. | London, | Printed by Adam Islip for Edward White, and are to be sold | at his shop, dwelling at the little North dore | of Paules, at the signe of the Gun. | 1601. (from Grosart, in his edition of same, p. 536. By Gervase Markham, cf. Corser, Coll. Anglo-Poetica, IV, 393. Cf. also Fr Thurston, in *Month.* vol. LXXXIII, pp. 394-395, who shows that this work, though a poem, is taken almost word for word from Southwell. Two long portions printed in Farr. *Devotional poetry*, vol. II, N° LXXXVI, pp. 434 and 438.)

MARY MAG- | dalens Lamentations | for the losse of her Maister | *JESUS.* | (line-Printer's ornament — Line) | AT LONDON, | Printed by I. R. for Thomas Clarke, and | are to be sold in Paules Church-yard at the | signe of the Angell. | 1604. |

One vol., 4to, sigs. A2-4 + ff. numb. 29. (B. M. : 1076.i.4.)

THE TEARES | OF THE BELOVED : | Or, | THE LAMENTATION OF | *Saint Iohn*, | Concerning the death and passion of | *Christ Iesus our Sauour.* | By I. M. | (Ornament) Imprinted at London by *Simon Stafford* : And are to be sold by *Iohn Browne*, | at the signe of the Bible | in Fleete-streete | 1600. |

One vol., 4to, sigs. A 1-2 + B1-F2, (Exactly similar to Southwell's *Mary Magdalens teares*, except that St John has taken Mary Magdalen's place. Cf. Thurston, *Month*, LXXXIII, p. 392) (B. M. : 11, 621.c.27)

SAINT MARIE | MAGDALENS | CONVERSION | (double line) | IHS | (double line) Printed with licence | (MS note : 1603)

One vol., 4to, sigs. A1-D2. From a Catholic press in England, according to Fr. Thurston. (B. M. : C.39.e.51)

S. MARY | MAGDALENS | PILGRIMAGE TO | PARADISE. | Wherein are liuely imprinted the foote- | steps of her excellent Vertues, for | Sinners to follow, who desire to | accompany her thither. | By I. S. of the Society of *Iesus.* | Ornament with IHS) Permissu superiorum, M.DC.XVII.

c) *An Epistle of comfort.*

AN EPISTLE of | COMFORT TO THE RE- | *VEREND PRIESTES*, & | TO THE HONORABLE, Worshipful, & other of the | *Laye sort restrayned in Du* | *rance for the Catholicke* | *Fayth.* | (Printer's device) *Matt. 11* | *Regnum coelorum vim patitur*, | *et violenti, rapiunt illud.* | The Kingdome of heauen suffereth | violence, and the violent beare | it awaye. | *Deus tibi se, Tu te Deo.* | *IMPRINTED AT PARIS.* |

One vol., 8vo, title-page + ff. numb. 1-214, + one f. errata. A MS. note in the Stonyhurst copy GG.8.71 says : "really printed, perhaps, at a secret press in England." Cf also *Cath. Rec. Soc.*, XXI, p. 321, which states that the book is printed on English "pot" paper. (L : XXXII.9.20; St. GG.8.71 and V.9/8.)

AN | EPISTLE OF | COMFORT : TO THE RE- | *verend PRIESTS*, AND | TO THE HONOVABLE | worshipfull, and other of | *the lay sort, restrayned in* | *durance for the Catho-* | like Faith. | (line) | *Regnum coelorum vim patitur, & violenti* | *rapiunt illud.* | The Kingdome of heauen suffereth violence, and | the violent beare it away | *Mat. 11* | (line) | *Deus tibi se, Tu te Deo* | (two lines and ornament, then line) | *Printed with licence*, 1605 |

One vol., 8vo, pp. 1-419. (St. : GG.8.72; B. : Seld 8° E.11.Th.; B. M. : 3935.a.26.)

An Epistle of Comfort, s. 1. 1608, 12mo. This edition is mentioned by Gillow, but we have been unable to find it.

AN | EPISTLE | OF COMFORT, | TO THE | Reuerend Priests, and to the Honou-
| rable, Worshippful, & other of the | Lay sort, restrayned in durance | for the
| Catholike Faith. | By R. S. of the Society of IESUS. | Regnum coelorum vim
| patitur, & violenti rapiunt illud. Matth. 11. | (Ornament with IHS and nails) |
| The Kingdome of Heauen suffereth violence, and | the violent beare it away. |
| Permissu Superiorum. M.DC.XVI. |

One vol., sm. 8vo, pp. 419 + ff. 2 (table) The text and the setting of this edition are quite similar to those of the 1605 ed. (B. M. : C.26.h.15.)

d) Southwell's *Epistle to his father*.

Printed with *A short rule of good life*. (all early editions), in the collected editions of 1620-1636 and in those of Walter, Turnbull and Trotman (see below).

e) *The Triumphs over death*.

The Triumphs over Death : or, A Consolatorie Epistle, for afflicted Minds, in the Affects of dying Friends. First written for the consolation of one; but nowe published for the generall good of all by R. S. London, Val. Simmes for Jno. Busbie, 1595.

One vol., 4to, pp. 38. Mentioned by Gillow. We have not been able to see this edition.

THE | *Triumphs ouer Death* : | OR | A consolatorie Epistle, for affli- | cted minds, in-
| the affects of | dying friends. | *First written for the consolation of one : | but nowe*
| *published for the generall | good of all* by R. S. the Authour of S. | Peters
| Complaint, and Maconiae | his other Hymnes | (Ornament) | LONDON Printed
| by Valentine Simmes for Iohn | Busbie, and are to be solde at Nicholas | Lings
| shop at the West end of | Paules Church. | 1596. |

One vol., 4to, sigs. A1-E3. (B. M. : 873.e.24 and 1077.d.72, also G.742(2); B. : Tanner 257.)

The Triumphs over Death, reprinted in Brydges *Archaea*, 1815, vol. I. (B. M. : 92.g.11; B.)

f) *An humble supplication to her Majesty*.

AN | HVMBLE | SVPPPLICATION | TO HER MA | IESTIE. | (Cross, ornament
| Printed Anno Do. 1595. (Title-page in engraved border, conventional design).

One vol., 8vo, pp. numb. 1-86. (L. : XXXI.9.6(3) and A.4.13.f(2); B. M. : 3935.aa.33). In the B. M. copy the typographical errors are carefully corrected by one who apparently had means of using the original MS. or one of the MS. copies

The Lambeth volume XXXI.9.6(3) contains two other works of the same nature, of which one is much earlier than that of Southwell :

A CONSOLATORIE | Epistle to the afflicted Catho- | likes : set foorth by Tho- | mas
| Hide Priest Imprinted at Louaine, | by Iohn Lyon. | 1580 | Cvm privilegio...

One vol., black letter, 8vo, sig. A1-G8.

A CONSOLATO | RY LETTER TO ALL THE | AFFLICTED CATHOLIKES | in
| England... Imprinted at Roan in Normandy.

g) *Short rule of good life*.

A SHORT | Rule of good life. | To direct the deuout chri- | stian in a regular and |
| orderly course | *Newly set forth according to | the Authors direction | before his*
| *death*. | Set me downe (O Lorde) | a lawe | in thy way. Psalme 118. | I saide (O
| Lorde) that it is my | portion and all my riches, to | keepe thy law. Ibidem. |

One vol., 12mo, sigs. A1 to I12. Contains in addition to the *Short rule* :

(Sig. G9) AN | EPISTLE OF A RELI- | GIOVS PRIEST UNTO | HIS
| FATHER | Exhorting him to the perfect forsaking | of the world. | (Southwell's
| work.)

A SHORT | RVLE OF | GOOD LIFE. | To direct the devout chri- | stian, in a regular, and | orderly course. | *Newly set forth, according to the* | Authors direction, be- | fore his death | Set me downe (O Lorde) a lawe in thy way. Psalme 118 | I saide (O Lorde) that it is my | portion and all my riches, to | keepe thy law. *Ibidem.* | One vol., 12mo, sigs A2-I10. Contains in addition to *Short rule* :

(Sig. G.9) AN | EPISTLE OF A RELI- | GIOVS PRIEST, VNTO | HIS FATHER | Exhorting him to the perfect for- | saking of the worlde. | (Southwell's work).
This is either the model or reproduction of the previous edition (B.)

A | SHORT | RVLE OF | GOOD LIFE | To direct the deuout Chri- | stian in a regular and | orderly course. | *Newly set forth according to* | the Authors direction, | before his death. | Set me downe (O Lord) a | law in thy way. Ps. 118 | I said (O Lorde) that it is my | portion and al my riches, | to keepe thy law. *Ibid.* | (Small ornament) | At S. Omers, by IOHN | HEIGHAM An. 1622. |

One vol., very sm. 8vo, pp. 1-240. Contains (p. 181) *An Epistle of a religious priest* etc.

Bound in the B. M. copy with a vol. of the same size : *An instrvction How to pray and Meditate well...* by the Rev. Father Ignativs Balsamo, transl. out of French into English by Iohn Heigham. St Omers, Anno 1622. (MS. note : Auc. P. The Everardo S. J.)

(B. M. : C.26.k.22 (1))

Short rules of good life, in the collected editions of 1620-1636.

A *Short Rule of Good Life to direct the Devout Christian in a regular and orderly course, Newly set forth according to the author's directions before his death.* Douay 1654, 12mo. (after Gillow)

III. — Poetical works

a) Jesuit works on poetry.

Francisci | Bencii ab Aqua | Pendente, e socie- | tate Iesv, | *Orationes & Carmina.* | Quae partim nvnqvam | antehac, partim in GERMANIA nunc pri- | mum in lucem prodierunt. | *Orationvm singlarvm argumentum, pagina quae primam orationem antecedit proxime, indicabit.* | His demum subiuncta est eiusdem de stylo & | scriptione disputatio. | (Ornament with IHS and the sacred heart.) | Cum gratia & priuilegio Cæsareæ Maiest. *Ingolstadii*, Excudebat DAVID SARTORIUS. Anno M.D.XCII. |

One vol., 8vo, ff. 4 + pp. numb. 1-383 (*Orationes*) + ff. 4 including new title + pp. numb. 1-325 (*Carmina*). (B. N. U. S. : Cd.101,208.)

FRANCISCI | BENCII E SOCIETA- | TE IESV | *CARMINVM LI | BRI QUATUOR* | EIVSDEM ERGASTVS | ET PHILOTIMVS, | *Dramata.* | *Editio secunda auctior.* | (Ornament with IHS above sacred heart. | Cum gratia & priuilegio Cæs. Maiest. | *INGOLSTADII* : Excudebat DAVID SARTORIUS. Anno Domini M.D.XCV. |

One vol., 8vo, ff. 4 + pp. 1-424 (*Orationes*) + ff. 5 including new title-page pp. 1-349. (B. N. U. S. : Cd.101, 107.)

Jacobi Pontani de Societate Jesu : Poeticarum institutionum libri tres eiusdem Tyrocinium + Poeticum. Ingolstadt 1594.

JACOBI PONTANI | *DE SOCIETATE IESV* | *POETICARVM* | *INSTITVTIONVM* | *LIBRI III.* | *Editio secunda emendatior.* | (Ornament with angels and IHS and nails inside flaming sun.) | *Cum Gratia & Priuilegio Cæs. Maiest.* *INGOLSTADII*, | Excudebat ADAM SARTORIUS. | Anno Domini M.D.XCVII. |

One vol., 8vo, sigs.) (1-8 (including title-page) + pp. 1-239.

ANTONII | POSSEVINI | SOCIETATIS | IESV | TRACTATIO | De Poesi & Pictura ethnica, humana, & fabulosa collata cum vera, | honesta, & sacra. | *Adiectus est in hac editione nouus Index, qui | omnia notatu digna complectitur.* | (Ornament with IHS surrounded with inscription : LAVDABILE NOMEN DOMINI) | LVGDVNI, APVD IOANNEM PILLEHOTTE | ad insigne Nominis IESV. | M.D.XCIII. | CVM PRIVILEGIO. |

One vol., 12mo, pp. 312 + ff. 12 (Index etc.)

ANTONII | (red print) POSSEVINI | (black) Mantuani, Societatis Iesu, | (red) BIBLOTHECA SELECTA | DE RATIONE STVDIORVM, | Ad disciplinas, & ad salutem omnium gentium procurandam. | (red) RECOGNITA NOVISSIME AB EODEM, ET AVCTA, | & in duos Tomos distributa | ...VENETIIS. M.DC.III. | (red line) | Apud Altobellum Salicatum. |

One vol., large 6to, pp. 32 unpag. + 530 + Tomus Secundus, pp. 594. + 24 unpag. (Index). DE POESI ET PICTVRA is from p. 468 to p. 553 of the second tome. (B. N. U. S. : A.10,181.)

b) Tansillo's *Lagrimae*.

LE LAGRIME | DI S. PIERO DEL | REVERENDISSIMO | CARDINAL DE | PVCCI. | (Conventional ornament) | CON PRIVILEGIO. | (Large copper-plate with scrolls, angels at the top corners and inside the central space, the latter two carrying laurel crowns, with the inscription above them : ET ANIMO ET CORPORI.) In Venetia, appresso Francisco Rampazetto. M.DLX.

One vol., 8vo, printed in italics. Begins at Sig. Fl. F2 is numb. 42, and the following ff. are numbered to 51. The text is followed by two sonnets, *Nella creazione di N. S. P. Pio IIII* and *Alla santità di N. S. P. Pio IIII*.

Fr Thurston, in the *Month*, CVI, p. 318, mentions an ed. of 1550, but as it seems by mistake.

(B. M. : 237.i.40.)

LE LAGRIME | DI SAN PIETRO | DEL SIGNOR LVIGI | TANSILLO DA NOLA. | MANDATE IN LVCE DA GIOVAN | Battista Attendolo, da Capua. |

Alla ILLMA sigRA D. MADDALENA | de' Rossi Carrafa, Marchesana di Laino. | *Con Licenza, & Prilivilegio.* | (Large engraving, the Lord's supper) | *IN VICO Equense, dell Illustriss. Sig. Ferrante* | *Carrafa, Marchese di San Lucido.* | Appresso Gioseppe Cacchij, & Gio. Battista Cappello. | M.D.LXXXV.

One vol., large 8vo, sigs. 1-6 + pp. numb. 1-226 + ff. 7.

LE LAGRIME | DI SAN PIETRO | DEL SIG. LVIGI TANSILLO; | *DI NVOVO RISTAMPATE* | *con nuoua gionta delle lagrimae della Madda-* | *lena del Signor Erasmo Valuassone,* | *ET ALTRE RIME SPIRITVALLI,* | *del molto R. D. Angelo Grillo, non piu vedu-* | *te. & ora nouamente date in luce.* | (Ornament with Hydra, one head cut off, and belt with inscription : VIRTVS VIRESCIT VVLNERE.) | In Genova, | Appresso Girolamo Bartoli. MDLXXXVII. | Con licenza de' Superiori. |

One vol., 8vo, sigs. + al-8, ff. numb. 1-178 + sigs. Y 1-7. (S.G. : [Y.8°.1851] 3721.)

LE | LAGRIME | DI SAN PIETRO | DEL SIGNOR LVIGI | TANSILLO | Con le Lagrimae della Maddalena del | Signor Erasmo de Valuasone, | *DI NVOVO RISTAMPATE,* | Et aggiuntoui l'Eccellenze della Gloriosa Vergine Maria, | Del Signor Horatio Guarguante da Soncino. | (Engraving inside belt with inscription : CONCORDIA RES PARVAE CRESCUNT.) | In Venetia. Appresso Simon Cornetti, | & Fratelli. 1592. |

One vol., 8vo, sigs § 1-4 + ff. 1-190.

(S. G. : Y.8°.1850 (3720); B. M. : 11,426.aaa.33.)

LE LAGRIME | DI SAN PIETRO | DEL SIGNOR LVIGI | TANSILLO. | Con le lagrime della MADDALENA | del Signor Erasmo da Valuasone, | *DI NVOVO RISTAMPATE.* | Et aggiuntoui l'Eccellenze della Glosiosa Vergine | MARIA, del Signor Horatio Guarguante da Soncino. | (Engraving, Adam and Eve surrounded with scroll with the words : DE HOC STIPITE OMNES.) | In Venetia, MDXCVIII. | Presso Gio. Battista Bonfadino. |

One vol., sm. 8vo, pp. 1-4 + ff. 190. Entirely similar to 1592 ed. (S. G. : Y.8°.1849 [3719]).

LE LAGRIME | DI S. PIETRO | DEL SIGNOR LVIGI | TANSILLO. | Con le Lagrime della Maddalena del | Signor Erasmo de Valuasone, | *DI NVOVO RISTAMPATE,* | *Et aggiuntoui l'Eccellenze della Gloriosa Vergine* | *MARIA, del Signor Horatio* | *Guarguante da Soncino.* | (Engraving with nude figure, scroll in centre with the word HVMILITATI, and belt round with the words : SIC OMNIA CEDUNT.) | In Venetia, Appresso Agostino Spineda. | MDXCIX |

One vol., sm. 8vo, sigs. 1-4 + ff. 190. Wholly similar to 1592 ed. (Maz : 45,367.)

A bibliography of Tansillo's works and especially of the *Lagrime* is found in *Biblioteca Napoletana di storia e letteratura* edita da Benedetto Croce, vol. III, *L'egloga e i poemetti di Luigi Tansillo* con introduzione e note di Francesco Flamini. Napoli MDCCCXCIII, pp. CXLI-CL. (B. N. U. S. : Cd. 104,877.)

EL LLANTO DE | Sant Pedro. | Compuesto en estancias Italianas por | Luys Tansillo y traduzido en redon | dillas por Luys Galuez de | Montaluo. | (42 stanzas, beginning at f. 125b of :) |

PRIMERA PARTE | DEL THESO | RO DE DIVINA POESIA | donde se contienen varias obras de deuotion de diversos autores cuyos titulos | se veran a la buelta de la | hoja. | Recopilado por | Estuan de Villalobos. | (ornaments) IMPRESSO EN LISBOA CON licencia Por Iorje Rodriguez Impressor Año de 1598 Acosta de Pedro Flores mercader de Libros Vendese en suhenda al Pelerioño Vello iunto a la rua noua.

One vol., 8vo, sigs. 1-8 - ff. numb. in the most disorderly way.

LES | LARMES DE | SAINT PIERRE | ET AVTRES VERS | CHRESTIENS SVR | la Passion, par Rob. Estienne. | (small conventional ornament.) | A PARIS, | chez Mamert Patisson Imprimeur du Roy. | *Auec priuilege.* |

One vol., 8vo, sigs. ai-ii + ff. numb. 1-14 + ff. numb. 1-8. (Mz. 49,669 (10° pièce); B. M. : C. 39.c.64 (1-2); B. N. : Res. Ye. 3,982.)

Les larmes de S. Pierre et autres vers sur la Passion, plus quelques paraphrases sur les hymnes de l'année.... [par R. Estienne] Paris, Impr. de R. Estienne, 1606.

One vol., 8vo, ff. IV-20. (B. N. : Ye.21 594.)

LES LARMES | DE S. PIERRE, | IMITEES DV | TANSILLE. | *AU ROY.* | (Printer's ornament) | A PARIS, | chez Pierre Ramier, demeurant Rue S. Jean | de Latran, à l'enseigne du Serpent. | 1587. | (by François de Malherbe.)

LES LARMES | DE SAINT PIERRE | IMITEES DV | TANSILLE | *AV ROY.* |

One vol., sm. 4vo, sigs. A1-C3. (Mz. : 37,234, pièce 3.)

(Ornament with inscriptions and monogram.) | A PARIS, | Chez LVCAS BREYEL, Libraire au Palais à la gallerie ou l'on va | à la Chancellerie. | M.D.XCVI. |

One vol., 8vo, ff. Ai-ii + pp. 18. (Mz. 23,661.)

LES | LARMES DE | SAINT PIERRE : | DV SEIGNEVR LOYS | Tansille, Italien. | *AVEC L'IMITATION* | de Malerbe. | *AV ROY.* | (Engraving) M.D.XC.VIII.

One vol., very sm. 4to, title-page + pp. 18 + ff. numb. 1-9. Printed in italics. Contains the text of the *Lagrime*. (B. M. : 11,481.aa.19.)

c) Southwell's *Complaint*.

Saint | Peters | *Complaint,* | With other Poemes. | (Printer's ornament) | London | Imprinted by Iohn Wolfe. 1595. | (line) (Facsimile in Grosart, p. XII.)

One vol., 4to, sigs A1-K2. (Trinity Coll. Cambridge.)

Saint Peters Complaynt with other Poems. London, I. R. for G. C. [James Roberts for Gabriel Cawood] 1595.

One vol. 4to, pp. 72. Identical with Wolfe ed.
(B. M. : C.39.e.27.)

Saint Peters Complaynt, with other Poems, London, by J. R. for G. C., 1597. (After Gillow) We have not been able to trace this ed.

Saint Peters Complaynt, with other Poems, London, by J. R. for G. C., 1599. Woodcut title-page with in the centre an Æsculapian device with the mottoes "Nosce teipsum, Ne quid nimis," and "Love and Lyve."
(B. M. : C. 38 e. 29.)

Saint | Peters Com- | Plaint | with other Poëms | (Printer's ornament) Edinburgh | Printed by Robert Walde-graue | Printer to the Kings Majestie | cum Privilegio Regis | (Facsimile in Grosart, p. XVI)

One vol., 4to, sigs. A1-G4. Edited by prof. John Johnston of St Andrews, who inserted a sonnet of his own, "A Sin full soul" at the close of *St Peters complaint*, and occasionally protestantized the phraseology. The contents otherwise correspond with those of the 1595 ed., and follow the same order. According to David Laing, the date would be 1597 or 1598; according to Gillow, 1600. (Information compiled from Gillow and Grosart.) (B. M. : C.39.e.31.)

SAINT | PETERS COM- | Plaint | Newly augmented | With other poems. | (Line and printer's ornament, with an open book bearing the following words : I liue to dy I dy to liue) | LONDON. Printed by H.L. for William Leake : and | are to be sold at his shop in Paules Church- | yard at the signe of the holy | Ghost. | (The whole title inside an engraved border, bearing on right and left a monogram including the letters A, E, I, J, L, M, R, S, W.)

One vol., 4to, pp. 85. This edition is ascribed by Grosart to the year 1596 because two copies, notably his own, are so marked in contemporary hands, and because it has misprints which, he says, are partly corrected in the editions of 1597 and 1599. But Fr Thurston (*Month.*, LXXXIII, p. 385) has shown that the sign of the Holy Ghost in St Pauls Churchyard was not occupied by W. Leake until after the decease of G. Cawood in 1602. Facsimile of title-page in Grosart.

(Jesus Coll., Oxford; B. M. : 11, 626.bbb.14, but with date 1610.)

SAINT | PETERS COM- | PLAINT. | Newlie augmented | * VVith other Poems. | (Engraving : Æsculapian device, with scrolls issuing from the mouths of the snakes, with the the same words as in 1599 ed., of which this ed. is clearly a reprint.) | AT LONDON | * Printed by I. R. for G. C. | 1602. | (Title-page in large engraved border, of a conventional pattern with group at top centre: women kneeling right and left of a crown of thorns and nails; higher chalice, and above this IHS.)

One vol., 4to, sigs. A1 (Title)-A3 + pp. numb. 77. Contains all the 1595 poems, + 1602 poems except *David's Peccavi*. (B. : Malone 1006.)

SAINT | PETERS | COMPLAINT, | Newly augmented, | with other Poems. | (Ornament, conventional foliage and birds) | London, | Printed by W. Stansby, for Wil- | liam Barret : and are to be sold at | his shop in Pauls Church | at the signe of the | Pidgeons. 1615.

One vol., 4to sigs. A1(Title-page)-A3 + pp. 1-76. Contents exactly similar to those of 1602 ed. as well as pagination. (B. M. : 239.c. 10; B. : 4° R. 52. Art.)

d) The *Maeoniae*.

Maeoniae, | OR, | CERTAINE | excellent Poems and Spiri- | tuall Hymnes : | Omitted in the last Impression of Peters | Complaint; being needefull there- | unto to be annexed, as being both Di- | uine and Wittie | All composed by R. S. | (Printer's ornament, conventional pattern) | LONDON | Printed by Valentine Sims, for | John Busbie | 1595. |

One vol., 4to, sigs. Ai-ii + Bi Eiiii, pp. numb. from Bi, 1-32. Contents : the whole of Grosart's *Maeoniae*, except *Joseph's amazement*, *Christe's childhoode*, *The death of our Ladie The assumption of our Lady* (B. M. : C.30.e.18; 238.g.7; B.; Jesus Coll., Oxford.)

Maconiae, reprint without date, mentioned by Gillow as possibly printed in 1595.

Maconiae, reprint without date, mentioned by Gillow as possibly printed in 1596.

Maconiae, reprint without date, London, A. L. for W. Leake, 4to. Mentioned by Gillow as possibly printed in 1599. Fr Thurston, *loc. cit.*, mentions a 1598 ? ed. We have not been able to see any of the three above editions.

Maconiae, in Collected editions, from 1620 onwards.

IV. — Collected works

- S. PETERS | COMPLAINT. | AND | SAINT MARY | MAGDALENS | FVNERALL TEARES. | With sundry other selected | and deuout poems. | By R. S. of the Society of IESVS | IHS | *Is any among you sad? Let him pray. Is he of a cheerful hart? Let him sing.* Iac.5. Permissu Superiorum. M.DC.XVI. [Doway].

One vol., 8vo, sigs A1-L8, consisting of pp. 3 unnumb. + pp. 170 numb. Contents : The three prefaces to the 1595 ed. of the *Complaint*, the poem itself, followed by N^o 29, 19, 43, 52, 44, 37 in Grosart's table; then *Sainte Mary Magdalen's Fvnerall Teares*, followed by N^o 27, 40, 50, 42, 6, 12 and 24 of Grosart's table. (B. M. : C.26.gg.5; St. 0.9.55.)

- S. PETERS | COMPLAINT | AND | SAINT MARY | MAGDALENS | FVNERALL TEARES. | with sundry other selected, and deuout | POEMES | *By the R. Father Robert Southwell, Priest of the Society of IESVS.* | (Ornament with IHS and nails.) | *Is any among you sad? Let him pray. Is he of a cheerful hart? Let him sing.* Iac.5. | Permissu Superiorum. M.DC.XX. |

One vol., 8vo, identical throughout with the edition of 1616. (B. M. : C.26.h.11; Stonyhurst. : Y.9.20.)

- ST PETERS | COMPLAINT | Mary Magdal. | teares, *with other workes* | of the author | R:S: | (In separate smaller frame underneath) | LONDON | Printed for W. Barret | (Down at the bottom of the outer frame) 1620.

One vol., 12^{mo}; the title page is made of a large copper-plate, divided into compartments. Top : two Gospel scenes, with the words : Mat.26.14. and Mat : 27 : 2. Bottom, the same, with the words : Luke. 7 : 38 and Luke : 22 : 42. Centre : the title in two parts as above, with statues of St Peter on the left and St Mary Magdalen on the right. No pagination; 283 leaves. Contents : five parts, each with a distinct title-page : 1. — *St Peters complaint*; 2. — *Maconiae, or certaine excellent poems*; 3. — *Marie Magdalens fvnerall Teares*; 4. — *The Triumphs over Death*; 5. — *Short rules of good life* (B.M. : 11,623.aa.35. B. : 8°D.47.Th)

- ST PETERS | COMPLAINT... (Title-page similar to that of the 1620 ed., but ending with the words : Printed by I : Haviland | (line) | *and sould by Robert Allott* | (line) | 1630. |

Otherwise identical with 1620 ed. (B.M. : 11,623.a.44; B. : Douce S.353.)

- ST PETERS | COMPLAINT... (Title-page similar to that of the 1630 ed., with date 1634.) (After Gillow) We have not been able to see this ed.

- ST PETERS | COMPLAINT... (Title-page similar to that of the 1630 ed., but with the words : *sould by E. Benson* and the date 1636.

One vol., 12^{mo}, sigs A1-Aa⁶. (The writer's own copy, a bequest of the late prof. John Swinnerton Phillimore).

- ST *Peters Complainte*, Edinburgh, Jno. Wreiton, 1634, 4^{to}. (After Gillow).

- ST *Peters Complainte*, Edinburgh, Jno. Wreiton, 1636. (After Gillow).

- (Goth.) St. Peter's Complaint | (Rom.) AND | OTHER POEMS, | BY THE | REV. ROBERT SOUTHWELL, | Reprinted from the edition of 1595, with important | Additions from an original MS. | AND | A SKETCH OF THE AUTHOR'S LIFE, | By W. JOS. WALTER, | LATE OF ST EDMUND'S COLLEGE, | And Translator of the Martyrs of Chateaubriand, &c.&c. | LONDON; | PUBLISHED BY KEATING, BROWN AND CO. 38. DUKE-

STREET, GROSVENOR SQUARE; AND LONGMAN, | HURST, REES, AND ORME, PATERNOSTER-ROW. | 1817. |

One vol., in-6° pp. XXXII-128. Contents : *St Peter's Complaint*, with the preface of the author "to his loving cousin", and the first preface "to the reader"; N^{os} 51, 45, 46, 47, 50, 30, 18, 22, 12, 31, 34, 35, 24 of Grosart's ed., and *Upon the image of death*; then Southwell's letter of January 16th, 1590, and his *Epistles* to his father and brother. This edition is altogether untrustworthy the editor having taken great liberties with the text of the poems and letters. (B.M. : 239.g.21 and 11,621.f.20; St. : 0.5.33; the writer's own copy, a bequest of the late prof John Swinnerton Phillimore.)

THE | PROSE WORKS | OF | ROBERT SOUTHWELL; | CONTAINING | (Goth.) *Mary Magdalen's Funeral Tears*, | *The Triumphs over Death*, | (Rom.) AND | (Goth.) *An Epistle of Comfort*, | (Rom.) &c. &c. EDITED BY JOS. WALTER, | *From the editions of 1593*, &c. | (Line) | LONDON : KEATING, BROWN, & Co. 38, DUKE STREET | GROSVENOR SQUARE; | BOOKER, NEW BOND STREET; | AND HOOKHAM, OLD BOND STREET | (Line) | 1828. |

One vol., 8^{vo}, pp. X+11-201. The various works printed are "modernized" and adapted in the most unscholarly fashion. (St. : 0.5.53; the writer's own copy, a bequest of the late prof John Swinnerton Phillimore.)

THE | POETICAL WORKS | OF THE | REV ROBERT SOUTHWELL, | NOW FIRST COMPLETELY EDITED BY | WILLIAM B. TURNBULL, ESQ. | OF LINCOLN'S INN, BARRISTER AT LAW. | LONDON : | JOHN RUSSELL SMITH, | SOHO SQUARE. | 1856. |

One vol. 8°, pp. : LXVIII-168. Contents : Preface; Memoir; Appendix N° 1 (Southwell's *Epistle to his father*); Appendices, 2, 3 & 4 (documents); then all the poetical works, including the pieces in verse included in the prose work. (B.M. : 2340.a.12.)

(Goth.) The Fuller Worthies' Library. (line) THE COMPLETE POEMS OF | ROBERT SOUTHWELL | S.J. | FOR THE FIRST TIME FULLY COLLECTED AND | COLLATED WITH THE ORIGINAL AND EARLY EDITIONS AND MSS. | AND ENLARGED WITH HITHERTO UNPRINTED AND INEDITED POEMS FROM MSS. AT | STONYHURST COLLEGE. LANCASHIRE. | AND ORIGINAL ILLUSTRATIONS AND FACSIMILES IN THE | QUARTO FORM. | EDITED, WITH MEMORIAL-INTRODUCTION AND NOTES | BY THE | REV. ALEXANDER B. GROSART, | ST GEORGE'S, BLACKBURN, LANCASHIRE. | PRINTED FOR PRIVATE CIRCULATION. | 1872. | 100 copies only. |

One vol., 4^{to}, pp. C-222. Supplementary fly-leaves pp. 1-10, containing Fr. Garnet's letter of Feb.22nd/Mar.4th, 1595, Latin text and English translation. (B.M. : 2,326.d.6; Os. : LXX.K.12 (old library); B.N.U.S. : Cd. 161,448.)

The same vol. in 8^{vo} form, without illustrations. (S.)

THE COMPLETE WORKS | OF | (red print) R. SOUTHWELL, S.J. | (black print) WITH LIFE AND DEATH. | (red print) NEW EDITION | (Black print) LONDON, D. STEWART, WARWICK CHAMBERS, | PATERNOSTER ROW, E.C., | 1876. |

One vol. 8^{vo}, pp. XXIV-168-XXIV. Contains the same poems as Grosart's ed., and in the Appendix : *Southwell's Epistles to his father and To his brother*, Topcliffe's letter about Bellamy, of Sept. 1592 (S.P. Office, Doncaster, N° 190) and the examination of Mrs Bellamy and her three children, (S.P. Office, Doncaster, N° 197.) (Os. : LXX.B* 60, Old library.)

THE PEMBROKE BOOKLETS | (First Series) | V. | Robert Southwell | Selected poems | Henry Constable | Pastorals and Sonnets | William Drummond | Songs, Sonnets etc. | J.R. Tutin | Hull | 1906 | *Large Paper Edition, limited to 250 copies.* |

One vol., 8^{vo}, pp. 64. Contains short preface by Walter Jerrold and for Southwell, N^{os} 17, 15, 36, 52, 43, 44, 46, 51, 31, 37 of Grosart's ed., with *Upon the image of death*. (B.M. : 11,607.ee.)

THE | TRIUMPHS OVER DEATH | BY | THE VEN. ROBERT SOUTHWELL
S.J. | *Martyred March 3. 1595 N.S.*) | TOGETHER WITH | THE EPISTLE
TO HIS FATHER | THE LETTER TO HIS BROTHER | THE LETTER
TO HIS COUSIN "W.R." | AND | A SOLILOQUY | *EDITED FROM THE*
MANUSCRIPTS | BY | JOHN WILLIAM TROTMAN | LONDON : | THE
MANRESA PRESS, ROEHAMPTON, S.W. | B. HERDER, 68, GREAT
RUSSELL STREET, W.C. | 1914. |

One vol., 8^{vo}, pp. XVI-136. A trustworthy edition, with highly disputable
appendices.

THE BOOK OF | ROBERT SOUTHWELL | PRIEST, POET, PRISONER |
By CHRISTOBEL M. HOOD. | F.R.Hist.S. | (Mrs. Ivo Hood) OXFORD :
BASIL BLACKWELL | 1926. |

One vol., pp. 157, of which 77 are a historical introduction, and the rest a
selection of the poems, including all of Grosart's *Myrtæ* except N^{os} 27 40 and 47,
and among the *Mæoniae*, N^{os} 4, 6, 8, 12, 23, 32, 36, 38, with *The Virgin Mary*
to Christ on the Crosse, Man to the wound in Christ's side, Vpon the image of
death, and the 3rd, 4th and 5th poems of Grosart's *Melofolia*.

V. — Various works used for the study of Southwell's poems.

The works in verse and prose of Nicholas Breton. ed. by the Rev. A.B. Grosart, in the
Chertsey Worthies Library. Two vols., 1879.

BRETON'S | (Gothic, red) Longing of a blessed Heart | (Rom.) WHICH LOATHING
THE WORLD | DOTH | LONG TO BE WITH CHRIST | ...KENT : | (Goth.,
red) PRINTED AT THE PRIVATE PRESS OF THE PRIORY | (Rom.) BY
JOHNSON AND WARWICK | 1814. |

One vol., 4^{to}, pp. 45. Ed. by Sir Egerton Brydges, K.J.

Cf. for part reprint of the same work, Farr, *Devotional poetry*, pp. 190 sqq.

A strange description of a rare garden plot, by Nicholas Breton. See *Phoenix Nest*, 1593.

Sir Thomas More. *A Treatyce (vnfynshed) vpon these woordes of holye Scripture,*
Memorare nouissima, & in eternum non peccabis...

In *English works*, 1557 ed., pp. 72-103.

A | FOVRE-FOVLD | Meditation, | of the foure last things : | viz. | (in a column)
1.2.3.4. | (in the middle) of the | (in a column) Houre of Death. | Day of
judgment. | Paines of Hell. | Ioyes of Heauen | *shewing the estate of the Elect and*
Reprobate, | Composed in a Diuine Poeme | By R : S. | *The author of S. Peters*
complaint. | (Conventional ornament with branches and leaves) | Imprinted at London
by G. Eld : for Francis Burton | 1606 |

One vol., 4^{to}, ff 2 unpag + sigs Bi-iii. Really by Philip Howard, Earl of
Arundel. (B.M. : C.40.e.74, which is only a fragment)

(Goth) A Fovre-Fovld Meditation (the title-page of 1606 as far as "Complaint") |
[ROBERT SOUTHWELL, S.J.] (then again 1606 title-page to end) WITH A
BIBLIOGRAPHICAL PREFACE | BY CHARLES EDMONDS | (various titles)
PUBLISHED BY ELKIN MATHEWS, | VIGO STREET, LONDON. |
MDCCCXCV. | (In THE ISHAM REPRINTS, N^o 4.)

One vol., folio, ff. 26 unpag. A facsimile of the above fragment in the B.M.,
completed by means of Peter Mowles *Commonplace Book Os.*, and a MS. in the
Rawlinson coll., B.)

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editoriale italiano, Milano. S.d., 8^{vo}, pp. 371. In *Classici italiani*, Novissima
biblioteca diretta da Ferdinando Martini, Serie III — Volume LIII.

St Bernard of Clairvaux, *Rhythmus de Contemptu mundi*, in J.P. Migne, *Patrologia latina*,
vol. 184, col. 1313-1316 (*S. Bernardi... Opera omnia... volumen tertium*.)

- Lodge, Thomas. *Prosopopeia containing the teares of the holy, blessed and Sanctified Marie the Mother of God...* London, 1596. Reprint in *The Complete works of Thomas Lodge* [1580-1623?] Hunterian club publications, vol. III, 1883.
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VI. — Criticism

- J.G. MacLeod, S.J. *Robert Southwell, Scholar, Poet, and Martyr*, in the *Month*, December 1877, vol. XII, pp. 439-456. Connected biographical sketch based on Foley's records.)
- Fr Herbert Thurston, S.J. A series of articles in the *Month*, entitled *Catholic writers and Elizabethan readers*.
- II. *Father Southwell the Euphuist*, February 1895, vol. LXXXIII, pp. 231-245.
- III *Father Southwell the popular poet*, March 1895, vol. LXXXIII, pp. 383-399.
- Fr Herbert Thurston, S.J. *Father Southwell and his Peter's Complaint*, in the *Month*, vol. CVI, Sept. 1905, pp. 318-321.
- Fr John Hungerford Pollen, S.J. *A rare Catholic tract*, article in the *Month*, January 1902, vol. XCIX pp. 93-96. (On Southwell's *Supplication* and the use made of it by the Appellants.)
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- Prof. Mario Praz. *Robert Southwell's Saint Peter's complaint and its Italian source*, an article in the *Modern language review*, July 1924, vol. XIX, pp. 273-290.
- I.A. Taylor. *Robert Southwell, S.J. Priest and Poet*, Edinburgh, Sands & C^o 1906. One vol., sm. 8^{vo}, ff. 3 + pp. 82. Based on Foley.
- Bastian (Maurice) *Le vénérable Robert Southwell, Missionnaire de la Compagnie de Jésus*. Article in *Nova et Vetera*, April-June 1929, pp. 193-207 (Fribourg in Switzerland) (Brings no new material.)
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- Fr C.A. Newdigate, S.J., *From Jesuit to Franciscan : In restitution. The authorship of Southwell's "Hundred meditations of the love of God."* Article in the *Month*, November, 1925, *Miscellanea*.
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II. — A LIST OF THE BOOKS MENTIONED OR QUOTED IN THE COURSE OF THE PRESENT WORK, AND NOT INCLUDED IN THE ABOVE BIBLIOGRAPHY.

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- St Bonaventura. *Doctoris Seraphici S. Bonaventurae... Opera omnia, iussu et auctoritate Rmi P. Aloysii a Parma... ad Claras Aquas (Quaracchi) prope Florentiam, ex typographia collegii S. Bonaventurae.* Vol. VI, MDXCXIII; vol. VII, MDXCXV.
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- Vol. III, *The gallery of gallant inventions.*
- Vol. IV, *The Phoenix nest.*
- Vol. V, *England's Helicon.*
- Vol. VI, *England's Parnassus.*
- Vol. VII, *A poetical rhapsody.*
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PORTRAITS OF ROBERT SOUTHWELL

The only known portrait of Southwell is a crayon drawing at Stonyhurst College, made by Mr Charles Weld from a picture formerly in the Jesuit College at Fribourg in Switzerland. Inquiries about the present location of the portrait have led to no result.

The sketch is reproduced, as a copper-plate, in Fr John Morris's edition of the *Hundred Meditations* (1872). Good photogravures of it are found in Trotman's edition of the *Triumphs* and Christobel M. Hood's *Book of Robert Southwell*.

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CONTAINING CHIEFLY THE NAMES OF PERSONS, OF PLACES
AND OF SOUTHWELL'S WORKS

This index does not duplicate the information supplied in the bibliography and in Appendices I, II, III and V. It includes neither the names of works and authors mentioned in the footnotes, nor those of too general a character to help in research. The letter "n" after the number of a page refers to a footnote.

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